



High on a Rock of Ice the Structure lay;
 Steep its Ascent, and Slippery was the Way;
 On this Foundation **FAME'S** high Temple stands;
 Stupendous Dile, not reared by mortal Hands:
 Here godlike Chiefs in darker Ages born,
 Or Worthies old, whom Arms or Arts adorn,
 Who Cities rais'd, or tam'd a monstrous Race,
 The Walls in venerable Order grace:
 But Chief were Those, who not for Empire fought,
 But with their Toils their People's Safety bought.

Pope.

THE
WAY to the TEMPLE
OF
True HONOR and FAME

BY THE
PATHS of HEROIC VIRTUE:

EXEMPLIFIED IN
The most entertaining LIVES

OF THE
Most eminent PERSONS of both SEXES:
On the Plan laid down by Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE
in his *Essay of Heroic Virtue*.
In FOUR VOLUMES.

By W. COOKE, A. B.

Fellow of NEW COLLEGE, Oxford, and
Chaplain to the Most Honorable the MARQUIS of
TWEEDDALE.

VOLUME IV.

*Abhor'd the Tale, which vain Amusement brings,
Tempts the frail Mind, and tickles 'till it stings;
But bless'd these Lines, that, in each faithful Page,
Impart the Fruits of far-experienc'd Age,
Founded on Truth, the youthful Heart which mend,
And precious Use with various Pleasure blend.*

DEVISES,

Printed and Sold by T. BURROUGH, Bookfeller;
Sold also by L. Davis, over against Gray's-Inn-Gate,
Holbourn, LONDON.

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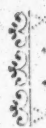
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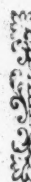
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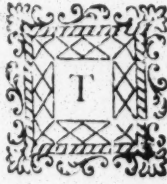
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THE
WAY to the TEMPLE
OF
True HONOR and FAME,
BY THE
PATHS of HEROIC VIRTUE.

CHAP. I.

Of PHILIP King of MACEDON.

HE Kingdom of Macedon makes no considerable figure in history, before the reign of our renowned Hero. His father Amyntas, the king of it, had three sons, Alexander, Perdiccas and PHILIP. This last was born in the second year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad. He received his earliest education at Pella, which was then the royal residence. The death of Amyntas seems to have been occasioned by the wicked arts of his queen Eurydice, who had

before conspired against him. His eldest son Alexander succeeded to the throne; but was unable to support it with dignity. The Illyrians armed against him, and made him tributary. His brother PHILIP on this occasion was given as an hostage; but was released in some time after. By the secret practices of Eurydice, Alexander also died, after a reign of one year. On his death, Pausanias, a prince of the royal blood, but from another branch, possessed himself of several towns and assumed the royal title. His party was powerful, and the interests of the family of Amyntas began to look desperate, when happily Iphicrates, the Athenian general, appeared in Macedon, upon an important commission from his state; between whom and Amyntas a friendship and affection had formerly passed. Eurydice had an interview with him and so effectually recommended her children to his protection, that he engaged to re-instate Perdiccas. Pausanias was soon obliged to yield to his power and authority. Perdiccas was acknowledged sovereign; and, during his minority, the administration was entrusted with Ptolemy, whom some will have to be the son, others the son-in-law, of Amyntas, and the gallant of Eurydice. He gained over the Thebans to his interest, and then, not content with the regency, openly claimed a right to the sovereignty itself. This threw the whole kingdom once more into confusion.

At this time the famous Pelopidas of Thebes was in Theffaly, settling the affairs of that distracted country. He seemed formed for restoring the peace of kingdoms, and redressing the injuries of the oppressed. To him therefore the Macedonians now applied. Nor could the two contending brothers refuse to submit their cause to the determination of an umpire, no less distinguished for his equity, than for his other glorious accomplishments. Perdiccas was declared sole king of Macedon, and Ptolomy professed a cordial reconciliation with his lawful prince. The king engaged to act in all particulars as the friend and ally of Thebes; and as a security for his performance of every thing required on his part, his brother PHILIP, together with thirty noble youths of the first distinction were given as hostages and conveyed to Thebes.

THIS was fortunate for PHILIP, whose education and instruction Pelopidas effectually promoted. He placed him in the family of Polymnus, the father of the great Epaminondas. The same tutors and the same course of study were provided for the Macedonian prince; and his mind was formed by the Grecian manners, the standard of politeness and the school of virtue. Eloquence was pointed out as an accomplishment highly worthy of his regard, and he continued in his most exalted fortune, to glory in the proficiency which he was now labouring to

gain. The conversation of Epaminondas enriched his mind with knowledge, and taught him the loveliness of Virtue. High and exalted sentiments of glory were best fitted to his disposition ; and all the arts and accomplishments, which led to this, he studiously cultivated and eagerly acquired. He was attended by his preceptors into different parts of Greece, and visited the several states, studying the tempers, manners, and dispositions of those people, who then engaged the general attention. He formed connexions with the learned of Athens, revered and admired Plato, paid due respect to the rising genius of Theophrastus, and contracted an intimacy with Isocrates. In these excursions he visited Samothrace, and was there initiated into the grand mysteries of Ceres. There he first saw Olympias, the second daughter of the king of Epirus. She also was initiated, and was now called Myrtalis, a name which the remembrance of their first affection seems to have preserved. For her extraordinary beauty, joined to the natural graces of her tender years, made a strong impression on the young prince.

In the mean time Macedon was again distracted by the ambition of Ptolemy ; so that the family of Amyntas once more applied to Pelopidas for protection, who collected some mercenary troops and marched against the usurper. Ptolemy contrived to corrupt these mercenaries, yet found it necessary to
humble

humble himself. He acknowledged his fault, implored pardon, and solemnly promised to confine himself to the duties of a regent, and to behave with fidelity towards the Theban State. On this occasion, his own son Philoxenus and fifty other Macedonians of rank were given as hostages and conveyed to Thebes.

BUT the death of Pelopidas, which soon followed, encouraged Ptolomy once more to assert his pretensions. And Perdiccas, to get rid of his apprehensions once for all, had recourse to the expedient usually practised in this unsettled kingdom, and murdered his turbulent guardian.

SOON after this, the great Epaminondas fell at Thebes, dying in the arms of Victory. This raised the spirits of the enemies of Macedon. The Illyrian prince Bardyllys demanded tribute, and supported his claim with an army, with which he gained a complete victory. Perdiccas was taken prisoner, and died of his wounds. His son Amyntas was yet an infant; and the distress of Macedon, troubled with intestine broils and under the up-lifted scourge of an incensed conqueror, is scarce to be conceived. The poor remains of the defeated army were wholly intimidated. The troops of Bardyllis were augmented by new levies. The Pæonians too ravaged the kingdom without interruption. Pausanias, whom

Iphicrates had dispossessed, openly asserted his title to the crown, and was ready to invade the kingdom at the head of an army of Thracians. Argæus, an old competitor of king Amyntas, also openly avowed his claim, and was supported both by the Illyrians and Athenians.

Two pretenders to the crown, and four formidable enemies in arms, were not capable of deterring PHILIP from assuming the reins of government, as regent and protector of his infant nephew. By his eloquence he roused the Macedonians from despair. His own undaunted deportment gave weight to his arguments, and his apparent merit inclined them to fix their confidence in him. For with all the graces of a most engaging person, he possessed that penetration, courage, openness and presence of mind, which carry men safe through the midst of dangers. At the same time some oracular verses are said to have been handed about conceived in the following strain ;

What boots the pride which high descent inspires?

And what thy race from royal Argian fires ?

Hear, Macedonia !—From a PHILIP's reign

Expect thy happiness ;—expect thy bane.

The first, great prince ! shall distant lands obey ;

And realms confess his delegated sway.

The last, O fatal name ! What woes attend !

E. With him thy conquest, honors, all shall end :

From

PHILIP of MACEDON.

7

From East, from West, behold thy foes arise !
And in one hapless hour thine empire dies.

ON these accounts the people in general began to consider him as the destined deliverer of his country ; and that an infant reign was not at all consistent with the present state of Macedon. They therefore insisted upon his assuming the royal title and dignity, and exerting his great abilities in defence of his own glory and power ; since the gods themselves had pointed him out as the saviour and restorer of his country. Thus the infant Amyntas was set aside, without difficulty in a kingdom which had been used to see the lineal succession interrupted ; and PHILIP himself was invested with the royal authority.

His first care was to restore strength and vigor to the army, which had suffered so severely in the late engagement ; and to establish and improve its discipline. For the instructions which he had received in Greece, taught him to regard an exact regulation of his army as the sure foundation of his future hopes. He provided store of arms, and improved upon the form and use of them ; kept his troops constantly trained, and exercised in mock-battles ; banished from them luxury and effeminacy, and allowed, even to the officers of most distinction, no more baggage than their servants could carry ;

nor

nor were these permitted to be more than strict necessity required.. He instituted a body of Spearmen, chosen carefully from all the noble families in Macedon.. These guarded his chamber door by turns; attended him in hunting and in battle; and dined at his own table. Thus he contrived to keep, as it were, a number of hostages to secure the allegiance of the whole nobility.. This proved a glorious seminary of future generals and officers, on whose abilities and zeal he might have the firmest reliance. He formed the Macedonian Phalanx, which did him such effectual services; which conquered Asia for his son; and appeared so formidable to the Romans.. He is said to have conceived the first idea of this renowned body from Homer;

An iron scene gleams dreadful o'er the fields;
 Armour in armour lock'd, and shields in shields..
 Spears lean on spears, on Targets Targets throng;
 Helms stuck to helms, and man drove man along.

Pope.

But it is probable that he only new-modelled and disciplin'd this body, with which before they were not unacquainted.. It consisted of about six thousand infantry, which usually formed his main battle. Their arms were a short cutting sword, a large square buckler four feet long and two and a half broad, and a pike fourteen cubits long. It was usually drawn up
 sixteen

sixteen deep ; the files were sometimes doubled, and sometimes divided, as different exigencies required.

INDEED, all his skill was necessary. For his enemies were now on all sides pouring down upon him: and, that he might manage them all, he deemed it by no means inconsistent with his honor, to treat, promise and oblige. Thus partly by bribing some of their chiefs, partly by fair and artful promises, he prevailed upon the Pæonians to grant him a peace and leave his territories. The same artifice prevailed upon the king of Thrace, and induced him to abandon Pausanias: and thus was he freed from two enemies and one formidable competitor.

In order to deal with the Athenians, he withdrew his forces from Amphipolis, which the Athenians claimed, and declared it a free city. In return, the Amphipolitans decreed divine honors to him, as their guardian Genius; expressed the warmest zeal for his support; and defended his frontier against all foreign attacks, which might be made on that side.

MANTIAS, the Athenian admiral, was now upon the coast, and detached a body of troops to reinforce the party of Argæus, who, at the head of his united army, presented himself before the city of

Ægæ.

Ægæ. He endeavoured with all his art to bring over the inhabitants to his interest. But they had too just notions of the merit and abilities of PHILIP and shut their gates against him. Dispirited with this disgrace, he was marching back, when PHILIP fell furiously on his rear, and cut it in pieces. The rest of his army gained a neighbouring eminence, where they were quickly surrounded, and obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

IN this battle Argæus fell, and freed PHILIP from the danger of his pretensions. The Macedonian prisoners he dispersed among his own troops; and treated the Athenians with the utmost distinction and respect. He restored their baggage; expressed the greatest veneration for their state, and the most tender concern for its citizens; and thus sent them home deeply affected with his politeness and humane disposition. This paved the way to a treaty with the Athenians, which was soon concluded and ratified entirely to the satisfaction of PHILIP.

THESE transactions took up the first year of PHILIP's reign, at the end of which he received an account of the death of Agis, king of the Pæonians. A similar event had encouraged the Pæonians to dispossess the kingdom of Macedon. Instructed therefore by their invasion, he embraced the same occasion of oppressing them in turn. He entered their territories

PHILIP of MACEDON.

III

ories with the choice of all his forces, utterly defeated their army, and obliged them to acknowledge an absolute dependence on Macedon.

ONLY one enemy now remained, the most formidable of all ; and that was Bardyllys, king of the Illyrians. The victories, which this prince had gained over the brothers and the father of PHILIP ; the tribute which they had paid, and which was still demanded ; the acquisitions, which he had already gained in Macedon ; and the danger with which he still threatened the kingdom ; all engaged PHILIP to revenge the injuries done to his family, to assert the honor of his realm, and provide for his own security. He assembled his troops, enflamed them with sentiments of glory, rendered them impatient to seek the enemy, and then marched with them towards the confines of Illyria. They amounted to ten thousand foot and six hundred horse.

BARDYLIS saw the approaching storm with emotion. He was unwilling to hazard a reputation, gained by a long life of military toil, against a prince of PHILIP's extraordinary vigor and abilities, whose late successes had made him a dangerous enemy. He therefore proposed a treaty upon the terms of present possession. But PHILIP insisted upon his relinquishing all his conquests in Macedon. Thus the negotiation broke off, and the Illyrian
marched

marched with his troops to meet him. These were ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse.

THE Illyrians advanced in one large column. The right wing and centre of the Macedonians were composed of their choicest infantry, and amongst them, the phalanx lately formed. The cavalry were placed upon the left, with orders to wheel about and attack the enemy in flank. PHILIP at the head of his favourite body, stood firm in the front, and bravely sustained their charge. Victory was long doubtful. At length, the Macedonian cavalry began to make some impression, both in the flank and rear; while all the boldest efforts of the phalanx, and all the military skill of their royal general were exerted to break the front. At last they succeeded. Repeated charges, directed with skill, and executed with valour, obliged the Illyrian column to bend and fluctuate. In this disorder the Macedonians pressed them on all sides, and with great havoc, after an obstinate contest, broke and dispersed them. More than seven thousand of the enemy fell, and among them, the gallant old king Bardyllys; whose mind and body still retained such vigour, that at the age of ninety, he fought bravely on horseback.

PHILIP erected a trophy in the field of battle, after the manner of the Greeks. And this victory freed his country from the incursions of a dangerous enemy,

enemy, and reduced Illyria to the condition of a province dependent on Macedon. This also captivated the affections of his subjects, and attached them to him with particular firmness. Thus animated and supported, he resolved to render his kingdom much more opulent and flourishing; much more powerful and respectable.

THE city of Amphipolis was necessary to his future designs. He had made it free; and the Athenians claimed it. The Amphipolitans themselves were determined to maintain their independence; and with this view attached themselves to the Olynthian league. The people, who formed this confederacy appeared well-disposed to defend them both against the Athenians and PHILIP. Iphicrates, the general of the former, came against the place, and made himself master of all the adjacent posts. The Town was blocked up, when a party of the citizens in the Athenian Interest promised to deliver up one of the gates to him, and gave hostages for the performance. These hostages were committed to the care of Charidemus, the commander of some mercenary troops. But Iphicrates being obliged to return home, Charidemus refused to serve under Timotheus, who succeeded to the command, and returned the hostages to the Amphipolitans. After which the siege was soon raised.

THE Amphipolitans seem to have been elated with their success, and to have given PHILIP real, or pretended causes of complaint. The Olynthians saw evidently that these would produce a war. They determined therefore to provide effectually against all consequences by a timely union with Athens, and sent deputies to that city to propose an accommodation and alliance.

THIS alarmed the king of Macedon. He dispatched his agents instantly to Athens. A negotiation was commenced, and a formal stipulation made that the Athenians should be put in possession of Amphipolis, and that they, on their part, should give up Pydna to PHILIP, which had revolted from him and put itself under the protection of Athens. This done, the Athenians refused all overtures from the Olynthian deputies. This irritated their state, and determined them to give all possible opposition to the Athenian Interest.

AND this was the very disposition with which PHILIP wished to inspire the Olynthians. He applied to them, while their resentment was violent. He flattered, courted, promised. He did more; for he gave them up Anthemus, a city which separated Olynthus from the sea, and which had long been under the jurisdiction of Macedon. Thus gratified and obliged, they entered into strict engagements

ments with their benefactor. Thus this consummate master of intrigue dispelled the threatening storm, which probably would have sunk his hopes, and engaged to his interests a powerful and important people, who had ever regarded him with a jealous eye, and were just before prepared to unite with his most dangerous enemies.

Thus strengthened, he scrupled not to avow his intentions against Amphipolis. He had art enough to persuade the Olynthians that the reduction of that city was their common interest. For they too had some wrongs to urge against the inhabitants. They united their resentments therefore, and pressed Amphipolis with a vigorous siege. In this distress the citizens had recourse to Athens. They represented the danger of a junction between PHILIP and the Olynthians in the strongest light, and earnestly pressed them to send out their fleet and take under their protection a city which they had long desired to possess.

To counteract this application PHILIP addressed a letter to the Athenians. He acknowledged their pretensions to the invetted city, renewed the assurances of his friendship, declared that it was his real intention to deliver up Amphipolis to them, and that with such design he had now laid siege to it. The Athenians, whose hands were full by a

general revolt of their allies and dependent towns, easily suffered themselves to be amused. The truth is, that they were not sufficiently at leisure; and therefore refused to send succours to a city, which they fondly imagined that they should receive without any trouble. The city thus left to itself, was pressed with double vigour; a breach was made; the Macedonians entered; and the citizens surrendered to mercy.

PHILIP, now master of Amphipolis, banished his opponents there, and treated the rest with sufficient lenity. The situation, importance and commerce of the place recommended it to his protection; and on these accounts, he determined to reunite it to Macedon, maugre all the resentment of the Athenians. However it was necessary for him to provide against this; which he did by strongly cementing the union now subsisting between himself and the Olynthians, to whom he gave up Pydna, which was presently besieged and taken.

To gratify the Olynthians still further, he now turned his arms against Potidæ. The city had been originally dependent on Olynthus; but had been taken some time since by Timotheus, and was now possessed by the Athenians. Not able to contend with the united power of two such confederates, the gates were soon thrown open. The Athenian gar-
rison

rison retired into the citadel in hopes of being timely relieved. But, finding themselves disappointed, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In this siege, PHILIP professed to act purely as the ally of Olynthus. The place was therefore given up to the Olynthians. But the Athenian prisoners he took under his protection, as the citizens of a state for which he professed the deepest veneration and regard. With declarations the most flattering, and with every mark of honor and esteem, he freely dismissed them laden with favors and conducted in security to their own city. Thus tempering his very hostilities with a deportment the most obliging and caressing; so as still to have room for palliating his conduct by the specious plea of necessity.

FAME now began now to speak loudly of him. The neighbouring states beheld him with astonishment. A spirit of association might yet have crushed his growing greatness: but his qualifications were admirably calculated to frustrate such designs. His engaging affability and insinuating address stole the affections of all who approached him. They who beheld him, when they had once conversed with him, could not conceive him dangerous or aspiring; and the clearest evidences could scarce efface their prejudices in his favour. His penetration pierced into their secret sentiments, while his caution and policy concealed his own. He seemed

to resign himself up to all who were admitted to his presence with an appearance of undesigning confidence, capable of imposing upon the most guarded and experienced. Hence all persuaded themselves that they enjoyed, or might easily obtain, his friendship. This security gave him time and power to establish that greatness, which no association was afterwards able to oppose.

HAVING provided for the security of his kingdom by engaging the Olynthians to his service, he now marched against the Thracians. They had long considered Macedon as a district rent from their dominion, had frequently infested it, and had lately attempted to impose a king upon it: provocations very sufficient for the justification of his enterprize.

COTYS was at this time king of the eastern Thrace. He possessed the Chersonesus, and the coasts of the Ægean sea, as far as the Euxine. He had no fixed residence in his dominions; but, as they contained the most beautiful forests, and were watered by many rivers, whose banks were embroidered with variety of fragrant flowers, he ranged about with his attendants, and pitched his tents wherever the beauty of the place invited. These delightful retreats gave a wild and romantic turn to his mind, so that he at length conceived the fancy of being enamoured

amoured with Minerva. He quitted his court, and pierced into the recesses of his groves, to enjoy, as he pretended the conversation of the Goddes.

SUCH was the prince against whom PHILIP now marched, and who fled with precipitation at the ruinour of his approach. On the third day's march the Macedonians took possession of Onocaris, a delightful residence, situated in the midst of a forest, to which Cotys had opened several avenues; and which was most frequently the seat of his enjoyments. The Thracian prince, instead of fighting with him, expostulated by letter with him. A few parties were afterwards sent out against him, which PHILIP with ease dispersed, and pursued his march to the shore. He encamped near Crenidæ, a colony of the Thracians, equally distant from the mountains and from the sea. The beauty of the situation was striking. A lake, into which entered divers streams and rivulets, tempered the dryness of the soil; which produced fruits of the most delicious kind; and roses of a peculiar hue and fragrancy. But PHILIP, however delighted with the charms of nature, was determined to this residence by a much more material consideration. There were mines of gold in the neighbouring mountains, of which he had been well-informed, and from which he promised himself considerable advantages. He drove out the Thracians, settled a colony of Macedonians there, and called the

the place, after his own name, Philippi; famous afterwards for the defeat of Brutus and Cassius. He examined the state of the mines. His soldiers descended with torches into a vein which had not been wrought upon for a considerable time. Here they traced the art and labour of the ancient possessors. Canals had been contrived, with infinite pains, to drain off the water, which burst forth into subterraneous lakes; and many circumstances appeared to encourage and facilitate his design, tho' the barbarous inhabitants had, for a long time neglected this important fund of wealth. Numbers were instantly employed. The success rewarded his labours; and an annual revenue was established of ten thousand talents, without any imposition upon the subject. He now struck that coin which was called A PHILIP, and which was afterwards so liberally dispersed to promote his aspiring schemes. This enabled him to reinforce his army with a numerous body of mercenaries from all the neighbouring nations. He was now powerful and formidable; his kingdom completely settled; his frontier was secured, and extended on one side to the sea of Thrace, and on the other, to the lake Licnitis; his finances were large and well-regulated; and all the advantages of commerce abundantly supplied by the possession of Amphipolis.

HE now received an invitation to turn his arms towards Theffaly. Alexander of Pheræ had been lately king of that country. He was the most detestable tyrant that Greece ever knew. He had massacred in cold blood, his father-in-law, his uncle, and a multitude of his subjects. His wife Thebe, tired out with his barbarities, and spirited up by the interviews which she had with Pelopidas, at last resolved upon his destruction. The execution was difficult. His palace was filled with guards, and even in these he did not wholly confide. He lay in a high and retired chamber, to which he mounted by a ladder. This he drew up after him; and the passage was guarded by a furious mastiff, whom nobody dared to approach, but Alexander, his wife, and the slave who fed him.

THEBE had engaged her brothers Tisiphonus, Lycophron, and Pitholaus in the plot, and concealed them in the palace. At night, having come to the tyrant's apartment, she ordered the slave, who had the care of the mastiff, to remove him, for that he disturbed the king's rest. She then went down the ladder, which she had taken care to cover all over with wool, to prevent the least noise; brought up her brothers; posted them at the door, and shewed them the sword of Alexander, which was the signal agreed on. But at the point of execution, the youths began to hesitate: on which Thebe threatened

that

that she would awaken the tyrant. They then resumed courage. One of them seized him by the feet, another by his hair, and the third buried a dagger in his heart.

TISIPHONUS, Pitholaus and Lycophron were now regarded as the deliverers of their country. But, tempted by the splendor of a throne, they assumed the power, and in a great measure, imitated the conduct of Alexander. They hired a large body of foreign troops to support their usurpation, and punished with death or exile all who attempted to oppose them. The nobility of Thessaly, with the Alcudæ, descendants of Hercules, at their head, finding themselves oppressed with three tyrants instead of one, declared openly against them, and implored the assistance of PHILIP.

Nothing could be more flattering than this invitation. The honor of assisting the Alcudæ, descended from the same race; of imitating the renowned Pelopidas in giving liberty to Thessaly; of interfering honorably in the affairs of Greece; an opportunity which he had long wished for; all conspired to determine PHILIP at once to suspend his Thracian conquests and march against the tyrants. He first seized Larissa, and then advanced towards Phæræ, at a small distance from mount Pelion, which separates these provinces from Macedon. The tyrants

met

met him and tried their fortune in the field, but were defeated, compelled to resign their usurped authority, and to leave their country in peace and freedom. All Greece resounded with the praises of the great protector of liberty ; the avenger of tyrants ; and the generous patron of the oppressed.

BUT PHILIP reaped advantages from this expedition, more solid than renown and popular applause. The Thessalian nobility concluded a treaty with him, by which he was impowered to command all the conveniencies of their ports and shipping. Their cavalry was remarkably the best and most celebrated in Greece. These were now obliged to attend him in all his wars. And this was the only acquisition wanted to render his forces complete. He was so gentle, so humane, so affable and obliging, so amiable, even to the conquered, that the Thessalians resigned themselves to him with a total confidence. Thus was he enabled to set himself up in the place of those he had subdued, not by open force, but by gentle and unsuspected, yet not less effectual, methods.

PHILIP was now returned to his own kingdom, honored, admired and applauded ; when Olympias, the young princess whose charms had engaged his affections in Samothrace, was conducted with all due magnificence to his court, and their espousals
were

were publicly celebrated with the utmost splendor. The superstitious observed that a dramatic performance was exhibited on this occasion, called, The Cyclops; and that soon after PHILIP lost an eye. This loss was even said to have been occasioned by a jealous curiosity of prying into the conduct of his queen, who is accused thus early of unfaithfulness, with many fabulous and extravagant circumstances, calculated to make the birth of Alexander appear the more extraordinary. The ancients imagined that every thing relating to this hero should have an important appearance. They have therefore furnished out a series of dreams, prodigies, and predictions. Thus Olympias, the night before consummation, is said to have dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her belly, which kindled up a conflagration whose flames spread and raged to a considerable distance, and were then extinguished; and PHILIP in a dream fancied himself employed in sealing up the womb of his queen with a signet, whose impression was a lion. The vanity of Alexander afterwards, to have himself thought the son of Jupiter, seems to have given rise to the fiction of an enormous serpent discovered by PHILIP in strict intercourse with his queen. A serpent in her bed is allowed not to have been so very extraordinary in a country where they were tame and harmless. And Olympias, who was remarkably devoted to the celebration of the rites of Orpheus and Bacchus is said to have danced in those ceremonies

ceremonies with large tame serpents twining round her, sometimes interwoven with the Ivy of the sacred spears, or with the chaplets of her attendants, to inspire the greater awe and horror. Yet from hence forward he is said to have been more remiss in his affections. Whether he feared her as a sorceress, or imagined that she really held commerce with some god, and was afraid of offending some superior rival, his correspondence with her became less frequent. Having sent to consult the Delphian Oracle on this alarming occasion, he received for answer, that he was to pay peculiar honors to Jupiter Ammon, and must expect to lose that eye, which had presumptuously intruded on the secret communication of a divinity with his wife. Certain it is however that Olympias herself disclaimed all such intercourse. For when Alexander, in one of his letters to her, styled himself the son of Jupiter, and she complained that he made mischief between her and Juno, we cannot conceive it in any other light, but as a piece of raillery on his fantastical vanity.

As the present nuptials entirely engaged the court of Macedon, which became a scene of general pleasure and festivity; his enemies judged that a favorable opportunity offered to crush his rising greatness. The kings of Illyria, Pæonia and Thrace joined in a strict confederacy to invade Macedon with all their powers. The scheme was artfully con-

ceived, conducted with all secrecy, and had the fairest prospect of success. But in the midst of all his gaiety, PHILIP's attention was not a moment diverted from his more important concerns. He had every where his spies and emissaries, who never failed to inform him minutely of every motion and transaction that might affect him. While therefore they were yet preparing against him, he ordered Parmenio, the general in whom he most confided, to march into Illyria, while he himself surprized the Pæonians, and reduced them to such a state of subjection, that they never afterwards attempted to recover their independence. He then marched into Thrace; and while he was here spreading the terror of his arms, he received the welcome news of a victory gained by Parmenio. Couriers brought word at the same time that the chariots, which he had sent to the Olympic games, had obtained the prize. Proud of this event, which acknowledged him a true and legitimate son of Greece (for Macedon had been commonly reckoned among the barbarous nations) he preserved the memorial of it, by impressing these victorious chariots upon his coins. Two of these of gold, are in the valuable collection of the right honorable the Earl of Pembroke, with the head laurelled, and underneath the chariot and horse on the reverse. the word PHILIPPOY. Another advice, of still greater moment, now came to him, that his queen was delivered of a son at Pella. On which,
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he breathed out his prayer in rapture, that the gods should send him some misfortune to temper this accumulated happiness.

THE most accurate chronologers fix the birth of Alexander to the first Year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad. On the same day Hierostatus set fire to the temple of Diana at Ephesus from the sole motive of immortalizing his name, and the priests ran frantic through the city, crying out, "This day hath brought forth something, which will prove destructive to all Asia!" On this occasion, PHILIP wrote the following letter to Aristotle, for whom he had always expressed great reverence,

"King PHILIP to Aristotle, Health!"

"YOU are to know that a son hath been born to us. We thank the Gods, not so much for having bestowed him on us, as for bestowing him at a time when Aristotle lives. We assure ourselves, that you will form him a prince worthy to be our successor, and a king worthy of Macedonia. Farewell!"

HE was now at leisure to pursue his advantages in Thrace. He advanced as far as Maronea, where he was joined by Pammenes the Theban with a considerable reinforcement. He held a private correspondence with Charidemus, and might have com-

pleted the conquest of this country, if he had not been opposed by Amadocus and the Athenians, with whom good policy did not as yet permit him to come to an avowed rupture. He had however formed the siege of Methone, and the Athenians were preparing to send powerful succours to the besieged.

DURING the operations here, as PHILIP was one day viewing the works and directing the approaches, an arrow, shot from the town, wounded him dangerously in the eye. He instantly gave orders with the utmost calmness for continuing the siege, and committed himself to the care of Critobulus, an eminent surgeon, who, tho' he could not save his eye, yet contrived to take away all the blemish, which might have been expected from such a misfortune. When the arrow was extracted, this inscription is said to have appeared upon it, **ASTER TO PHILIP'S RIGHT EYE.** This Aster is reported to have recommended himself to PHILIP, by assuring him, that with his bow he could strike down birds in their full flight: to which PHILIP answered with contempt, "It is well! we shall make use of you, "when we wage war with starlings:" Aster, it is said, stung with this neglect, threw himself into Methone, whence he shot the arrow with the inscription above-mentioned. It is added, that PHILIP sent back the arrow when extracted from his eye, with
another

another inscription, importing that when he should be master of the town, he would hang up After ; and that this threat was afterwards executed. PHILIP's sensibility from this wound was such, that the bare repetition of the word EYE was painful and offensive to him ever after.

PHILIP was soon in a condition to direct the siege with unabated vigor. The inhabitants made an obstinate defence, a general assault was ordered. The Macedonians pressed forward and boldly mounted the walls. Considerable numbers had gained the battlements, when the king ordered the scaling ladders to be removed. Thus the assailants were put to the desperate alternative, either of dying, or pursuing their advantage. The Methoneans, finding all resistance vain, laid down their arms, and submitted to the mercy of the victor, who used them with great humanity. They were suffered to march out unmolested, with one suit of apparel only ; and the city, with all its possessions was delivered up without reserve. At a time when slavery was the usual lot of the conquered, these terms were very moderate and favorable.

As we know not where particularly to place the occurrence of the following anecdote, preserved by Seneca, the reader may not be displeased to see it here.

A soldier in the army had distinguished himself by extraordinary acts of valour, and had received many marks of PHILIP's favour and approbation. This man was shipwrecked in a violent storm, and cast on the shore helpless, naked and half dead. A Macedonian, whose lands were contiguous to the sea, saw his distress, and flew with all humane and charitable tenderness to his relief. He bore him to his house, laid him on his own bed, revived, cherished, comforted, and for forty days supplied him with all the necessaries and conveniencies, which his languishing condition could require. The soldier, thus happily rescued from death, was incessant in the warmest expression of gratitude to his benefactor assured him of his interest with the king, and of his power and resolution of obtaining for him from the royal bounty, the noble returns such extraordinary benevolence had merited. He was now completely recovered, and his kind host supplied him with money for his journey. Some time after he presented himself before the king, recounted his misfortunes, and magnified his services. And this inhuman wretch, who had looked with a wishful eye on the possessions of the man that had saved his life, was now so abandoned to all sense of gratitude, as to request that the king would bestow upon him the house and lands where he had been so hospitably entertained. PHILIP, considering the military merit of the man, very precipitately and inconsiderably
granted

granted his request; and the soldier now returned to his preserver, and repaid his goodness by driving him from his little settlement, and taking immediate possession of all the fruits of his honest industry. The poor man, stung with indignation and a just sense of his wrongs, determined to seek relief. In a letter addressed to PHILIP, he represented his own and the soldier's conduct in a lively and affecting manner. The king was instantly fired with resentment, and ordered that justice should be done without delay; that his possessions should be immediately restored to the man, whose charitable offices had been thus horribly repaid; and having seized the soldier, caused these words to be branded in his forehead, THE UNGRATEFUL GUEST! a character infamous in every age, and among all nations; but particularly among the Greeks, who, from the earliest times, were most scrupulously observant of the laws of hospitality.

THE Sacred War had now raged for some time in Greece, the foundation of which had been thus laid. The Phocians had been accused of occupying and cultivating some lands on the banks of the Cephissus which the religion of ancient times had consecrated to Apollo. A large fine was imposed on them by the Amphictyons, the guardians of Religion and the rights of the God. At the same time the Lacedæmonians were fined by the same council,

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for having seized the citadel of Thebes. But neither of these states were disposed to submit to the decision. The Phocians, encouraged by Philomelus their country-man, instantly took arms, and made him their general. He added to his own troops a large body of mercenaries, who were drawn to his standard by the liberality with which he paid them. Having modelled his army, he marched to Delphi, gained possession of the city, and assumed the custody of the temple, with all its immense riches. The Amphictyons therefore, by a formal decree, pronounced these profane Phocians enemies to Heaven and Greece, and invited all to draw the sword against sacrilege. The Locrians rose first in defence of Apollo and the council, but were defeated by the Phocians, once and again. Next the Bæotians, with the Thebans at their head, and with them the Thessalians, Dorians, Perrhibeans, Dolopians, Athamantians, Achæans, Phthiotes, Magnetes, Ænians, and some others, all united against Philomelus and his adherents. On the other side, they were assisted by the Spartans, who were also obnoxious to the council, and the Athenians made a league offensive and defensive with them. In the second year of the war the Locrians were a third and fourth time defeated; and after them a large body of Thessalians but being joined by thirteen thousand Bæotians, they at last had the better of the Phocian army, and drove Philomelus to the brink of a precipice, whence he leaped

leaped in despair and perished. The scattered remains of his army were collected by Onomarchus, his brother and colleague, who retired with them to Phocis. And the Thebans, and other confederates, returned home. This closed the second year of the Sacred War.

ONOMARCHUS was now invested with full powers, as commander in chief of the Phocians. He augmented his army, marched against the Locrians, where he took and plundered Thronium, possessed himself of Amphylia, poured down upon Doris where he took some cities, and then by a forced march, pierced into Bæotia. Here he seized the famous city of Orchomenus, and, rushing forward with a precipitate fury, prepared to lay siege to Chæronea. But the Thebans were now ready for him. A general engagement ensued, in which Onomarchus was defeated, and driven back to Phocis.

HITHERTO PHILIP had been unconcerned in this quarrel. But now Lycophron, whom he had obliged to resign his usurped authority in Thessaly, was strengthening his party, and waiting for a favorable opportunity to avow his intentions. To him Onomarchus had applied, and partly by Lycophron's interest among the Thessalians, and partly by the natural inconstancy of that people, had drawn them to a neutrality in the Sacred War. The Phocian in
return

return, fought the restoration of Lycophron, and sent to his assistance seven thousand of his forces under the command of his brother Phayllus. Having received these succours, the tyrant established himself in Pheræ, and openly asserted his pretensions to the sovereign power.

THE king of Macedon could not see with indifference the regulations, which he had made for the peace and liberty of Thessaly, infringed. He marched into Thessaly, and formed the siege of Pagasæ. The Athenians resolved to send succours to the place, and sent them as usual, when the address and valour of PHILIP had made him master of it. Lycophron and his auxiliaries prepared to meet him; and Onomarchus, sensible of their danger, marched with speed to join them; but could not arrive 'till they had received a total defeat, and were chased out of Thessaly.

AND NOW PHILIP, reinforced with those Thessalians who were well-affected to him, prepared to meet Onomarchus, who was advancing with all his powers. The Phocians were superior in number; but the Macedonian phalanx was, by this time, renowned through Greece. Onomarchus dreaded its attack; and therefore ordered his Phocians, at the first charge to give way, and retire to the mountains contiguous to the field of battle. Hither they were pursued;

purfued ; and the Macedonians, confident of victory, preffed on ; but foon had horrid proof that the retreat of their enemy was no more than artifice. The Phocians now began the attack in earneft, and made effectual ufe of thofe arms, which had been provided for the execution of their defigns. Stones and fragments of rocks, of an enormous fize, were rolled down upon their affailants, whofe fanguine hopes were loft in amazement and confufion. Their files were, in an instant, crufted to pieces, with every circumftance of horror. The clofe order of the phalanx only increafed the havoc, it was broken and in that condition unable to fufftain the affaults of the Phocians, who now marched down in good order from the mountains, and fell with fury upon an army already vanquifhed. The fkill and activity of PHILIP here proved, for the firft time ineffectual. After many fruitlefs efforts he at length brought off his forces to an even ground, out of the reach of the enemy ; where with difficulty he reftored their order and revived their courage. But as the Phocians out-numbered him before and he had now fuffered great lofs, he judged it advifeable to march back to Macedon.

LYCOPHRON returned triumphant into Theffaly ; and Onomarchus, elevated with his victory over a prince hitherto invincible, marched into Bæotia, where he gained another victory, and then took
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the city of Coronea. The Thebans looked on PHILIP as their most effectual resource, and expected him with impatience. He had been diligently employed in re-establishing his forces, and now appeared in Thessaly again at the head of a formidable army, and advanced boldly upon the tyrant.

IN the mean time Lycophron, conscious of his weakness, made pressing instances to Onomarchus, who marched once more to his relief with twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse. The forces of PHILIP were by no means able to encounter so formidable and numerous an army. But the Thessalians crowded to his standard. So that he soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand of the best cavalry in Greece. He ordered all his men to crown their heads with laurel, a tree sacred to Apollo, for whom he professed to fight against the sacrilegious Phocians, and adorned his ensigns with the emblems and attributes of his Divinity. When the armies engaged, the infantry on each side, equal in numbers, and equally obstinate, kept the victory for some time doubtful; 'till the Thessalian cavalry advanced, and determined the fortune of the battle. The Phocians were broken, defeated, and pursued with prodigious execution. Numbers of them perished in the sea, which was near at hand, and three thousand were made prisoners. Onomarchus is said to have been forced into
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the deep by his own men, and there to have perished, covered over with wounds. His body was found and hung upon a gibbet, as a dreadful memorial of divine vengeance.

THIS obliged Lycophron once more to resign his pretensions and retire from Pheræ; which city, together with Pagasæ and Magnesia, PHILIP reserved to himself, the better to secure the dependence of the inconstant Thessalians. He then directed his course to Macedon, crowned with glory and conquest, regarded for his greatness and power, admired for the depth of his policy, acknowledged as an able general, and applauded as the scourge of sacrilege, and the defender of Apollo.

AT this time the Olynthians, become uneasy and suspicious of PHILIP, entered into a strong alliance offensive and defensive with the Athenians. Fresh commotions arose in Thrace, where Berisades, one of the co-heirs of Cotys, was dead. His sons and his brother Amadocus were attacked by Cerfobleptes who aimed at the entire sovereignty of Thrace. These differences were submitted to PHILIP, who marched into Thrace, and by his authority limited their pretensions and put an end to their disputes. While he was here, he besieged Heræum, a place of no great consequence in itself, but a kind of citadel by Byzantium; which city was of the utmost conse-

quence to the Athenian interest, as it was one great mart from which Attica was supplied with the necessary means of subsistence. This determined the Athenians to act against him with vigour. But a fit of sickness, which seized him, suspended their operations. Whether this saved the place, or his attempt against it succeeded, is not clear from history. On his recovery he made an inroad into the territories of the Olynthians, with whom he had now reason enough to be displeased; and might have pursued his hostilities farther, had not the disorders in Greece diverted his attention.

THE remains of the Phocian army had retired to their own country, and still obstinately resolving to pursue the war, chosen Phayllus, the last surviving brother of Onomarchus, for his successor. He collected great Numbers of new mercenaries, and solicited assistance from several people. From Athens he received assurances of a powerful support, and a promise of assistance from Sparta, with a renewal of the alliance. Accordingly, Archidamus, king of Sparta, sent a thousand Spartans to him. The Achæans assisted him with two thousand men. The contingent of the Athenians was still more considerable. For they detached five thousand foot and four hundred horse, under the command of Nausicles, one of their most experienced generals. The late tyrants of Thessaly reinforced the Phocian army with two thousand
Theſſalians,

Theſſalians, who had followed their fortune. Many of the leſs conſiderable communities, allured by the proſpect of gain, joined with no leſs ardor in this odious and unpopular cauſe. For Phayllus, having the Delphian treaſures at command, had money enough for the gratification of them all. When he had thus formed a numerous army, the Phocian chief entered Bæotia, and encountered the enemy: but, to mortify his aſpiring hopes, received a ſignal defeat, and was obliged to retire with great loſs. However, he again marched againſt the Bæotians, and in a ſecond action had four thouſand of his men ſlain, and four hundred made priſoners. He renewed the combat in a few days, and, in this laſt effort fifty Phocians fell, and one hundred and thirty were taken captive.

PHILIP conceived this to be a favorable moment for penetrating into the heart of Greece. He declared his reſolution of entering into Phocis, and executing full vengeance on that prophane and obſtinately-hardened people; and with a numerous army marched towards Thermopylæ. The Athenians were ſtruck with terror and aſtoniſhment at the approach of ſo formidable a prince to the very borders of their territories, only Bæotia intervening. This roused them from their indolence. A ſtrong armament was inſtantly provided. They ſailed to the ſtreights, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the paſſes, and ſtood prepared

for opposition. Their army was posted between inaccessible mountains on one hand, and frightful precipices on the other, which terminated in the sea. Valour and discipline must have proved ineffectual against such advantage of situation, had it been consistent with policy to have attempted the passage. But PHILIP had no design to come to an open rupture with the Athenians as yet. He therefore led back his forces to Macedon, loading them with all the odium, which would naturally fall upon the defence of sacrilege. Yet, fearing a second irruption, they still kept their forces stationed at the streights, under the command of one Menelaus, a foreigner, and probably a Phocian.

THE sacred war still continued to rage. Phayllus driven out of Bæotia by repeated defeats, led his forces into the territories of the Locrian Epicnemidii, and possessed himself of several cities. Aryca was delivered to him by treachery: but he was no sooner marched back to Phocis, but the Locrians surprized the town, and put the Phocian garrison to the sword. This brought him back. He again invested Aryca with a considerable body, and led the rest of his army against Abæ, a city of eminence in Phocis, where was a splendid temple of Apollo, and whose inhabitants had refused to join with the rest of the Phocians in their irreligious attempts. The Bæotians thought themselves obliged to succour this place.

place. They marched with incredible expedition, fell by night upon the camp of Phayllus, defeated the Phocians, and laden with booty, returned into Locris, to raise the siege of Aryca. But Phayllus instantly rallied his forces; and when the victorious army arrived at the town, they were surprized and mortified to find that he had already joined the besiegers. He had indeed not only done this, but was so well prepared to give them battle, that before they could be regularly formed, he fell furiously upon them, gained a complete victory, took the city, and razed it to the ground.

THIS was the last exploit of Phayllus, who soon after died of a consumption, leaving his nephew Phaleucus for his successor, under the guidance of Mnaseas, an ancient friend of the family, who was quickly slain by the Bæotians; and Phaleucus with all his cavalry, engaging with that of the enemy before Chæronea, received a total overthrow. However, it appears that he afterwards made himself master of that city; while the Bæotians made an inroad into Phocis, plundered some cities of less note, and returned with great spoil into their own country.

ALL this while PHILIP was paying due attention to the strength and splendor of his kingdom. Able architects and skilful engineers were invited to embellish

bellish and fortify the several parts of Macedon. Temples, palaces, Theatres began to rise in all his cities. And under the pretence of being better enabled to erect these costly edifices, the men of affluence in every state of Greece were solicited, by promises of large interest, to lend their money to the king. By this scheme he gained three considerable points. Under the pretence of paying interest, he concealed those pensions, which the interest of his affairs required him to distribute. He secured the moneyed men to him by the property which they deposited in his hands. And under the shew of transacting business and taking care of their private affairs, he enabled his partizans to appear at any time in Macedon, and to concert their secret practices without suspicion.

BUT new commotions began to rise in Thessaly. The fickle inhabitants became impatient for new revolutions. They complained of PHILIP, that he had expelled their former tyrants, to establish himself. They actually opposed him in an attempt to fortify Magnesia, and clamoured loudly for the restitution of that city and Pagasæ, where he still maintained his garrisons. Pitholaus, encouraged by these dispositions, and aided by Phocis, once more appeared at Pheræ, and asserted his ancient title: but as soon as PHILIP marched against him, he was gone; and the king of Macedon by his kind assurances soon quieted the Thessalians.

PHILO.

PHILOSOPHERS, poets, actors, musicians, men of genius, and artists of every kind, were received, caressed and rewarded at the court of Macedon. If a man of merit in any part of Greece, suffered by the caprice, neglect, or envy of his country-men, he was sure to be received there with the distinction due to his abilities. Unfortunate princes and nobles crowded to it, and there found a secure asylum. To his own subjects PHILIP acted with that tenderness, and moderation, that affability and condescension, which rendered him infinitely dear to them. His ears were ever open to their complaints, and, every day, before he gave audience, an officer was employed to remind him in form, that HE WAS MORTAL. This carried an appearance of humility, and at the same time reminded his subjects of his real greatness, gave them high ideas of his elevation, and assured them of his tender feelings as a man, and of his just concern for their welfare.

ONCE a poor woman requested that he would determine her suit, which had been long depending. But still he pleaded his embarrassments, and put her off to a time of greater leisure. Provoked at these repeated delays, she boldly answered, "If you have not time to do me justice, then cease to be a king." Far from being displeased with the freedom of this remonstrance, he instantly heard and decided her suit. He acknowledged, that to be a king and a judge,

judge, was in effect the same: that the throne was strictly a tribunal, and laid him under the necessity of distributing impartial justice: and that this was not a favor, but a duty. When solicited therefore to exert his influence in favor of a man, whose reputation would be ruined by a sentence that was going to be pronounced against him, "I had rather, said PHILIP, that he should lose his reputation, than I destroy mine."

NOR, as a man, was he less distinguished for the social virtues, for wit and festivity, for ease and gaiety in private life. The distance and haughty retirement of Asiatic courts was unknown in Macedonia. He conversed with his nobles, and shared in their diversions and entertainments with all the freedom of an equal. His visits were not in form, but he frequently surprized them totally unprovided for his reception and entertainment. Once particularly the supper to which he came uninvited and unexpected, appeared scarcely sufficient for the company. He ordered that it should be privately intimated to the guests, that a second and better course was soon to make its appearance. With this expectation most of them fed less freely; while the king, and they who were in the secret, feasted fully, and afterwards indulged their mirth at the disappointment of the rest.

BUT

BUT it is said that he was not delicate in the choice of his associates. Yet we must not believe all that the severity and acrimony of Theopompus has laid to his charge on this account. If indeed the five last books of that historian be not spurious, as they are with reason suspected to be ; for it is in one of these that the bitter reflections upon PHILIP and his companions occur ; and which are far more bitter than any recited by his known enemy, Demosthenes, whose oratorical flourishes could easily convert philosophers into flatterers, and musicians and players into fiddlers and buffoons.

BUT however PHILIP might, at some times, indulge himself in pleasure and sensuality, his attention was not one moment diverted from his grand designs. The island of Eubœa, and the territories of Olynthus were now the immediate objects of his machinations.

THE Athenians had driven out the Thebans from Eubœa, and left the island free. It was divided into several distinct and independent states, governed by those whose influence and address could raise them to the supreme command. These petty tyrants had frequent disputes with each other. On this occasion, PHILIP espoused the interest of Callias, the governor of Chalcis, and sent Eurylochus, one of his generals, thither with some forces and money.

PLU-

PLUTARCH, who commanded in Eretria, dispatched ambassadors to Athens, expressing his apprehensions of the Macedonian power, and the consequences of PHILIP's interfering in the disputes of the island. They had some forces in Eubœa, under the conduct of Hegesilaus, who supported the representations of Plutarch, and answered for the integrity of his intentions.

THIS was no other than the consequence of an artful scheme, concerted between PHILIP and Plutarch, to engage the Athenians in an expensive and inglorious expedition, so as to fatigue and exhaust them. And that people, who always acted in extremes, rushed upon an expedition calculated to serve the purposes of the enemy. Their forces landed at Eretria. The troops of PHILIP commanded every advantageous post, tho' few of them were Macedonians. They consisted chiefly of auxiliaries, and to these were joined a large body of Phocians (tho' enemies to Macedon and allies of Athens) engaged by ampler pay than they received at home; and all appeared rather to be employed and paid by Chalcis, than to be in the service of PHILIP. Plutarch himself gave many indications of treachery. Those whom they came to relieve, were found equally the enemies of Athens.

PHOCION,

PHOCION, the Athenian general, depending on the assistance of the Eubœan states, had landed but a moderate number of forces ; and some of these were not duly obedient to discipline : and many of his cavalry quitted him and dispersed. He therefore chose for his camp an eminence near the plain of Tamynas, which it was probable that the enemy would occupy, and separated from it by a piece of rough and rocky ground, inclosed with a deep ditch. Callias encamped on the opposite plain, and exerted all his efforts to surround him. Some days he remained besieged in his camp. The news came to Athens, and reinforcements were decreed. In the mean time the enemy prepared for a general assault. As they advanced Phocion ordered his men to stand to their arms, while himself went to sacrifice. He continued thus employed for some time, and his soldiers grew impatient for the charge. But, as he observed, " They could not then make him valiant, nor he make them wise." Plutarch, who probably saw his design, and was willing to defeat it, uttered many insinuations to the disadvantage of the general's courage ; and in a pretended fit of zeal charged the enemy himself at the head of the auxiliaries. When the cavalry saw this, they forgot the orders of their leader, rushed out without forming, and spurred on against the enemy. Plutarch's attack was weak and fallacious. He fled at once, and, falling back upon the horse, spread terror and confusion among them.

Several

Several were slain, and the rest reached the camp in the utmost disorder. The Chalcidians, in turn, pursued with a rash and intemperate ardor, and in full confidence of victory, marched up to the entrenchments, and began to level them. Phocion now put an end to his sacrifice: the enemy was engaged in an uneven and disadvantageous ground: he sallied out with his infantry; made great havoc among them, and quickly drove them to the plain. Here he halted, to give his cavalry time to rally; and having collected round him the bravest of his forces, fell furiously on the centre of the Chalcidians. The fight was obstinate and bloody, and Phocion in the utmost danger of being overpowered by numbers, when Cleophanes, a gallant Athenian, who by this time had formed the cavalry, charged the right wing of the enemy, and broke it. The centre then gave way, and the victory was complete. In this action the famous Demosthenes behaved very ill; but his rival Æschines with an intrepidity, which was honored and rewarded. And thus the abilities of Phocion extricated the Athenians from the snare which had been laid for them. The conduct of Plutarch had rendered him suspected. And some further practices determined Phocion to treat him as an enemy. He drove him out of the island, and then proceeded to attack the fort of Zaratra, which commanded the sea on each side, and which surrendered to him. So that the artifices of PHILIP were, for this time, ineffectual.

DURING

DURING the disorders of Eubœa, a conspiracy was carrying on by Archelaus, Aridæus, and Menelaus, three natural sons of Amyntas, to dethrone PHILIP, and divide the kingdom between them. Archelaus was seized, and according to the custom of Macedon, condemned to death by the army. The other two took refuge in Olynthus ; which state was said to have shared deeply in the conspiracy. PHILIP demanded the traitors of them ; but they refused to give them up. He therefore led his forces directly into their territories.

TEN thousand foot and one thousand horse was now the force of the Olynthians, whose dominions were enlarged and strengthened by the concessions of PHILIP. But the policy of this prince had rendered all their power infirm against himself. The Olynthians saw several of their cities grown rich and great in a manner unaccountable : yet were their fellow-citizens so infatuated as to grant them all confidence. Thus had corruption paved the way to their subduction. For, as Horace observes,

- ‘ Swifter than lightning’s winged force
- ‘ All-pow’rful Gold can speed its course,
- ‘ Through watchful guards its passage make,
- ‘ And joys through solid walls to break :
- ‘ From fatal gain, the dreadful woes,
- ‘ That crush’d the Grecian Augur, rose :

- ' The Macedonian hero's Gold,
- ' Far fam'd for policy, of old
- ' Around o'erwhelm'd the rival states,
- ' And open burst the strongest gates.'

He had been advised by the Oracle to fight with golden spears, and it was one of his maxims, that no fortress was impregnable, into which an ass could enter, laden with gold.

ON this occasion the Olynthians applied for succours to the Athenians, who were animated to the war by all the thunder of Demosthenes's eloquence. But while these were employed in debating, PHILIP was acting. Gira was taken and razed, Stagira was stormed : those who escaped the sword, were reduced to slavery, and the town was razed. Miciberna appeared capable of sustaining a long siege ; but the corruption of the governor saved PHILIP the trouble of it. And Toronè, whose citadel was joined by strong walls to the sea, had soon the same fate. The capital city was threatened with a siege, and the Athenian succours were expected in vain. The Olynthians offered a treaty, to amuse the enemy and gain time. But in vain they hoped to deceive the penetration of PHILIP, who, being now within forty furlongs of Olynthus, declared that either the Olynthians must quit their territories, or he could not reign in Macedon. On this, they collected their whole strength, and what their neighbours could afford

afford them, and tried their fortune in the field. They fought bravely, and their cavalry particularly distinguished themselves. But they were defeated, and shut up within their walls. In this desperate condition, they again applied to Athens.

THE Athenians had sent two thousand mercenaries and thirty ships to their assistance, under the command of Chares. But this general, instead of opposing the attempts against Olynthus, had made a descent on the coast of Pallène, where he had defeated eight hundred of PHILIP's men headed by one Audæus. He was now returned in triumph to Athens, whither he brought himself the news of this extraordinary victory and in honor of it spent sixty talents, exacted from the Phocians, in a public entertainment. However, at the instance of Demosthenes, they now granted to the Olynthians a reinforcement of four thousand infantry, and one hundred and fifty horse, under the command of Charidemus. This general began with ravaging the neighbourhood of Pella, and then threw his forces into Olynthus. Encouraged by these succours, the inhabitants hazarded another battle, but were driven back to their city with considerable loss; where from henceforward the Athenian commander instead of serving the common cause, abandoned himself to all manner of insolence and debauchery.

THE Olynthians, thus unhappily circumstanced, had recourse once more to their Athenian allies, requesting a re-inforcement composed of citizens, who might be zealous for their interest, and the glory of Athens. Two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all Athenian citizens, were therefore decreed : but unfortunately the command was again entrusted to Chares.

PHILIP in the mean time vigorously pushed on the siege. Some sallies were made to advantage ; and Euthycrates and Lashenes, the two commanders of the cavalry, at length marched out at the head of five hundred horse to attack the enemy's posts. The Macedonians fled at the first onset, and they abandoned themselves to the pursuit. — Thus were the troops led by their commanders, corrupted before hand, into an ambush prepared for them. They were surrounded by a numerous force, obliged to lay down their arms, and surrender prisoners of war. This fatal blow, together with a traiterous correspondence carried on within the town, opened the gates, and made PHILIP master of Olynthus, which was razed to the foundations and sacrificed to the future peace of Macedon. The inhabitants, as usual, were sold for slaves.

AN Olynthian, who was going to be set up for sale among others, loudly demanded his liberty,
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declaring that he was a friend of the king, and desiring to be brought near him, that he might prove what he asserted. PHILIP ordered him to advance, and the man begged him, in a whisper, "To let fall the skirt of his robe; for that at present he was exposed in a manner quite indecent." The king entered into the pleasantry of this rebuke with much condescension and good humor. "Right!" said he, "the man is my friend, tho' I did not know it; let him be set at liberty."

THE two principal betrayers of their country, Euthycrates and Lasthenes, were objects of contempt, even to the Macedonians. The soldiers were ever insulting them with the names of traitors, paricides and villains. They complained to the king, who answered, "Do not take notice of these rude, ill-manner'd fellows; they are strangers to all civility and good-breeding: they call every thing by its proper name." With this abhorrence must such wretches ever expect to be received, even by those, who have been served by their iniquity.

ARIDÆUS and Menelaus, having been found in Olynthus, were condemned by the army, and suffered accordingly.

ALL this while the Mace'onian ships of war were distressing the trade of the Athenians. They made descents upon the islands dependent on Athens,

and carried off several Athenian citizens. They surprized some vessels at anchor near the cape of Gerastus, which they seized and rifled. They took the sacred galley, as it was called, usually sent out on extraordinary emergencies. They even made a descent on Marathon, and defeated a body of Athenian cavalry commanded by Diotimus. Having thus alarmed the Athenians in their very city, they proceeded to Salamis and after defeating a detachment there under the command of Charidemus, returned home in triumph, loaden with the spoils of the enemy.

IN Eubœa, Molossus, who had succeeded Phocion, first made himself hated, and afterwards despised. Hipparchus, the new governor of Eretria, had a real esteem for PHILIP, and judged it for the service of his country, to have it dependent on this prince. Callias again appeared there, an active and vigorous manager for the Macedonian. All the partizans of PHILIP collected and strengthened themselves. His agents were employed to gain over the people, and his forces sent into the island. Molossus never thought of counteracting these measures, 'till it was too late. Then, at length, he took the field; but was surrounded and taken prisoner, with all his army; which, when plundered by the Eubœans, was suffered to pass over into Attica, and carry home their ignominy and disgrace. Thus did PHILIP establish such an interest, as might effectually facilitate the future subjection of the island.

AND

AND now the Athenians, considering that one hundred vessels had been lost, that seventy-five dependent cities, most of them in Thrace, had fallen into the hands of the enemy ; that Olynthus was destroyed, and Eubœa revolted ; that the several Grecian states were harassed, wasted, and alienated from each other ; and that PHILIP was more admired, dreaded, and respected than ever ; concluded that their state was rather concerned to secure what share of power was left her, than to entertain notions of revenge. They dispatched therefore ten commissioners, all men of distinction, to make their overtures at the court of Macedon. Among these were the celebrated orators, Demosthenes and Æschines.

WHILE Athens was preparing matters for an accommodation, PHILIP was pursuing his Thracian conquests. He was already master of the promontories of Pallènè and Ampelus, and had only to reunite that of Athos, which Xerxes had separated. He took the cities of Ganos, Ergiske, and some others, and confined Cerfobleptes to the Sacred Mount, the town which the statue of Alexander would have held in its hand, had it been cut out of mount Athos, according to the famous project of the statuary. Parmenio was at the same time in Thessaly, supporting the Pharsalians in their pretensions to the city of Halus, which was now besieged.

sieged. The Athenian Deputies passed through the Macedonian army which invested it, and, having received their passport, proceeded towards Macedon. Their Disagreements on the road portended no good to their principals. Demosthenes betrayed the utmost dissatisfaction at those who were joined with him; but had no doubt of carrying every point himself. When one of them expressed his apprehensions of PHILIP's art and power of speaking, those apprehensions were treated by him with great contempt. The expression, which he used on this occasion, was in the highest degree rude and insolent. He said, that "he would sew up PHILIP's mouth "with a dry bulrush." But when the boasting orator with his colleagues stood before PHILIP, he had scarcely uttered a few broken sentences, when his powers totally failed him, and he was utterly unable to procede. The king saw his distress, and, with all imaginable politeness, endeavoured to relieve it. The orator attempted to procede; but his confusion returned, and he was soon obliged to be again silent. To the representations and remonstrances of the other deputies, PHILIP replied with the greatest order, strength and perspicuity; but the little which Demosthenes had urged, he passed over with a contemptuous disregard. He concluded with the usual declarations of his candid intentions, and of his desire to live for the future in strict amity with Athens. Having given them all many tokens of honor and esteem,

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he dismissed them with letters, wherein he assured the Athenians, that his dispositions were sincerely pacific ; and that, as soon as they should consent to enter into an alliance with him, they should be particularly informed of those instances of friendship and affection, which they might expect from his real regard and esteem for Athens.

THE deputies returned home, and were immediately followed by PHILIP's three ambassadors, Eurylochus, Antipater, and Parmenio. The first was eminent both for eloquence and valor. The last joined the merit of an honest courtier to that of an able and brave soldier. We may judge of the esteem in which his master held him, by the following answer. He was told that the Athenians had chosen their ten generals for the year. "A happy people "who can every year find ten!" said PHILIP with his eye fixed on Parmenio, "In my life I never "knew but one." Antipater was the most respected and revered of all PHILIP's ministers. This prince used frequently to say at table: "Come, let us drink deep! It is enough for me that Antipater is "sober." He came into his audience chamber one morning later than usual, "I have been long "a-bed," said he,— "but it is no matter: Antipater "was awake."

THE ambassadors were received with all the respect due to their characters and commission. The Athenians decreed an immediate peace and alliance, and a clause was inserted in the decree, which obliged all the representatives of the allied states to accede instantly to the treaty, which was now ratified in form on the part of Athens. Five ambassadors were dispatched by the state to receive and give the necessary oaths and ratifications in the presence of PHILIP. And on this occasion their ally Cerfobleptes was abandoned and disclaimed, even at the instances of Demosthenes himself. This prince therefore, shut up in the Sacred Mount, as we observed before, surrendered himself, and gave one of his sons as an hostage for the performance of such terms as the king was pleased to impose.

ÆSCHINES, who was at the head of the Athenian embassy, made no haste to be gone. He was suspected of having devoted himself to the service of PHILIP, and of being willing to give him time to extend his Thracian conquests. And their journey to Pella took up twenty-five days, which might have been performed in six. Here they found the deputies of Thebes, whom the Phocian affairs had brought to the court of Macedon.

THE Sacred War had for some years passed in mutual ravages, the Phocians, upon the whole, having

ing the advantage; and the Thebans, weakened by their losses, addressed themselves to PHILIP. The Phocians too, who dreaded his power, began to think seriously of peace. They deposed Phaleucus for plundering the sacred treasures. Philon, one of their citizens, who had shared largely of the spoil, was obliged to make restitution, and then punished with death. Having by these acts endeavoured to regain the general favor, they applied to the Athenians for assistance, offering to give them up Alponus, Thronium, and Nicæa, the three cities which commanded the freights of Thermopylæ. The conditions were accepted; and a fleet of fifty vessels was granted under the command of Proxenus. But they were neither equipped with expedition, nor did their general act with vigor. Phaleucus, tho' deposed, still continued at the head of eight thousand mercenaries, absolutely devoted to him. With these he ravaged the Theban territory, and covered the conquests of his predecessors. At Nicæa he fixed his headquarters, and refused to deliver up the cities of Thermopylæ: he even threw the deputies in chains, who summoned him to surrender those towns. Mean time, the natural forces of the Phocians were employed in fortifying Abæ. These the Thebans, reinforced by some Macedonians, attacked and dispersed. Five hundred of the runaways took refuge in the temple of the Abæan Apollo. They pitched their tents along the Portico's. Their beds were of dried

dried herbs, straw, and the like inflammable materials. An accidental fire, begun in one of their tents, was instantly communicated through the whole number. Part of the temple was consumed, and the wretched Phocians were all stifled or reduced to ashes. This, represented as the apparent judgement of heaven, filled all the Phocians with terror. They solicited the assistance of Sparta; as the Thebans did of Macedon. And the Spartans, seeing that the Phocians could not long keep possession of the temple, revived an old claim to it themselves, as having originally belonged to the Dorians, and had now also sent ministers to Pella, to assert their claim.

THE Athenian deputies had resided twenty-five days at Pella before PHILIP returned from Thrace; who received the representatives of the several states with his usual politeness; and had the art of giving a temporary satisfaction to all. He took the oath required by the Athenians. The terms of his engagement were, that "he concluded a peace with the Athenians and their allies," without any explicit exception or reservation. But a state of the allies on both sides was settled and drawn up. The Cardians were included on the part of PHILIP. On the part of the Athenians, Cersobleptes was omitted. The Halians and Phocians were also omitted in the list of the Athenian allies. He was now in Thessaly, whither he had taken the ambassadors

dors with him from Pella. Here he made himself master of Halus, which he gave up to the Pharsalians. This concession inspired the Greeks with such favorable sentiments of him, as much facilitated his design of deciding the Phocian war.

THE deputies now returned to Athens, where, in consequence of their report, a decree was made for the ratification of a perpetual peace and alliance with PHILIP and his descendants. It enacted that public thanks should be given to this prince for his kind intentions towards the state; that the Phocians should be obliged to deliver up the temple, and submit to the determination of the Amphiſtyonic council; and that in case of any opposition to these demands, the Athenians would send an army to enforce the execution of this their decree.

IN consequence of this adjustment of matters between PHILIP and the Athenians, the Phocians expected such gentle usage from the former, that they rejected the assistance of the Spartans, who marched into Phocis; and so prevented their design of seizing the temple. He was now marching slowly towards the streights of Thermopylæ, and the Phocian deputies attended upon him. One difficulty only remained, and that was, how to remove Phaulcus thence. Overtures were made to him, and he gave up the place, on permission to retire with his troops into Peloponnesus.

THUS PHILIP gained the key of Greece, and passed the famous freights without opposition. The Phocians instantly submitted, and concluded a treaty with him. The most important article was, that the state itself should be spared ; and those only should be punished, who had shared in the guilt of sacrilege. The particular fate of Phocis was referred to the Amphictyons ; who deprived them of the right of sending representatives to the council, and transferred that right to the kings of Macedon ; dismantled the three principal cities ; reduced all the other cities to distinct hamlets ; obliged them to deliver up their arms and horses ; and to pay annually sixty talents, 'till they had completely indemnified the temple. And all this was executed with severity. The direction of the Pythian games was also taken from the Corinthians and conferred on PHILIP.

THE Athenians were much exasperated at the sufferings of the Phocians, and talked high ; yet, on mature consideration, acknowledged PHILIP as an Amphictyon, and acceded to all the dispositions made in the late council at Delphos. And now it was that Isocrates addressed his famous discourse to PHILIP, in which he exhorts him to unite with the states of Greece, and to lead them against their common enemy the Persian.

PHILIP of MACEDON.

63

THE king now settled the guardianship of the temple on the Theſſalians; and put the Thebans in poſſeſſion of thoſe cities in Bæotia, which the Phocians had ſeized; tho' he diſobliged the ſame Thebans, by recommending to them more moderation towards thoſe ſubjects than they were inclined to. He ſtationed a gariſon of Macedonians at Nicæa, to ſecure the ſtreights; directed them to protect the remains of the Phocian ſtate, and do them every act of kindneſs which could be afforded without giving umbrage to their enemies; and then marched back to Macedon, meditating ſtill greater and more extenſive enterprizes.

HERE he employed himſelf in fortifying and embellishing his dominions; changing the ſituation of cities; tranſplanting the inhabitants, and making ſuch alterations and diſpoſitions, as favoured the commerce and ſecurity of his ſubjects. He purged his country of villains, by ſending colonies of them to Calybè, Poneropolis and Thafus. The Athenians lent him their ſhips to tranſport them, yet took every occaſion of traſverſing and perplexing his deſigns, and of oppoſing and affronting his allies. This brought on mutual recriminations, and the king did not think it now neceſſary to diſſemble. He avowed his reſentment, and rejected their apologies with diſdain.

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BUT

BUT at present he carried his arms into Illyria and Dardania, to repress some commotions there. While he was thus spreading the terror of his arms, Ochus, king of Persia, sent an embassy to seek his friendship. The young prince Alexander did the honors of the court in his father's absence. But, instead of questions concerning the riches of the Persian court, its plane-trees of gold, its golden vine with clusters of emeralds and rubies, he was ever enquiring into the nature of the Persian government, polity, and art of war; the genius and character of the great king; the distance of his capital from the coast; the roads which led to it; and other like particulars: insomuch that the ambassadors heard him with astonishment, and cried out, "Ours is an opulent king: this is the truly great prince."

FROM Illyria PHILIP returned with glory, and soon after made an excursion into Thessaly, where new commotions began to arise. To keep his enemies in awe, he threw a body of soldiers into Larissa; and settled a plan of government for that kingdom. The charge of the public revenues he took upon himself; and divided the whole country into four districts, each of which he put under the government of ten eminent Thessalians devoted to himself.

THE state of Peloponnesus claimed a part of his attention. Athens had lately entered into an alliance

ance with Lacedæmon. On the other hand the Thebans, eager to mortify the Spartans, and reduce their power to the lowest ebb, had spirited the Argians, Messenians, and other Peloponnesians against them, who were impatient to assert their ancient freedom and independence. PHILIP was solicited, and willingly agreed to support the cause of these states. He wrote to Archidamus, king of Sparta, demanding that Lacedæmon should instantly renounce all superiority over those cities. "I shall find a way," says he, "to oblige you to pay due attention to this just demand, if once I enter Peloponnesus." To which Archidamus, as yet undismayed, answered laconically by the repetition of the particle "IF"—However, he sent some forces to the support of the Argians and Messenians. This terrified the Spartans, who called out to the Athenians loudly for help. They were backed by the eloquence of Demosthenes, and it was determined to support them. A prosecution was commenced against the managers of the late treaty, and the Macedonian interest drooped at Athens.

MEAN time, PHILIP directed his course towards Laconia, and landed his forces at the cape Tenarus. The Peloponnesians crowded to his standard, and he presently found himself at the head of a numerous army, with which he laid siege to Trinacrus. The place was strong and it was of the utmost moment

to make himself master of it, before the Lacedæmonians could march to its relief. In the night therefore he caused a large quantity of earth to be laid near the walls; and having engaged the besieged in an interview, he shewed them the heap, and asked whether they could now think of resisting any longer. The artifice succeeded, and the inhabitants, thinking the walls undermined, immediately capitulated.

THE Lacedæmonians, now finding themselves no match for PHILIP, sent Agis, the son of king Archidamus, to conclude a treaty with him. This was done to the satisfaction of the Argians, and Messene was declared a free state.

ON his return he passed through Arcadia, and detached some cities there from the Spartan interest. From thence he marched to Corinth, and assisted at the public games. Here the people received him with loud expressions of disgust; and, when his courtiers advised him to punish them, "By no means," said he, "if they are so insolent now, how would they behave, should we do them any ill offices!" In like manner, when he heard of those opprobrious invectives, which were sometimes dealt to him in the Athenian assembly, "I am much indebted," said he, "to those orators, who make me acquainted with my faults." And when Nicanor had reflected upon him, "Hath Nicanor spoken

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“ken evil of me?” said he; “perhaps he hath had
“reason: I have neglected his merit: let him have
“some mark of my friendship.” This had the due
effect. Nicanor changed his language; and the king
observed to those who had recommended severities,
“You see, it is in our own power to be well or ill
“spoken of.” This was true greatness of soul!

SOME time after his return home, and in the
eighteenth year of his reign, he made another expe-
dition into Thrace, where he reduced the two bro-
thers Deudras and Machetas; as he did Cithelas,
another petty sovereign; erected forts in their dis-
tricts, and exacted the tenth part their revenue, by
way of tribute. While here, he was invited to Car-
dia, and resided a while in that city. The inha-
bitants had various contests about their boundaries
with the Athenian colony settled in Chersonesus, and
PHILIP declared that he would assist his allies, the
Cardians.

THIS inflamed the jealousy of Athens, who dis-
patched emissaries into all parts of Greece, to spirit
up the several states against him. They also sent
their general Diopithes to the Hellespont, who, hav-
ing provided for the defence of their settlements in
Chersonesus, made an inroad on those territories of
PHILIP, which lay in the maritime parts of Thrace.
Here he stormed two cities, Crobyle and Teristasis,
and

and carried off a considerable booty and a number of prisoners. Amphiloehus, a Macedonian of some eminence, was dispatched as an ambassador to treat about the ransom of those prisoners; but Diopithes, contrary to the law of arms, threw him into prison, and after a severe confinement, obliged him to pay nine talents for his release. He also seized an herald, charged with packets for Macedon, put him in chains, and sent his letters to Athens, where they were read in a full assembly.

PHILIP received a full relation of these motions, but resolved that no petty hostilities should divert him from his main designs. Those he could revenge at leisure, and was determined to pursue his present expedition, and to finish the conquest of the Odrysian Thrace, where he now was. However, he demanded of the Athenians satisfaction upon Diopithes; but instead of giving it, they came to the most vigorous resolutions for enabling him to pursue his success. And Callias, another of their commanders, encouraged by their present dispositions, fell on some cities in the gulph of Pagasæ, where he seized some trading vessels bound to Macedon, and treated the goods and passengers as lawful prize.

ALL this while PHILIP had subjected the whole tract which lay between the Nessus and Hebrus, where he took the cities Drongilus and Mastira.

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This conquest opened him a free passage to the cities in the Propontis, objects worthy of his ambition, both for grandeur and importance, and by subduing which, he could reduce the Athenians to the utmost difficulties, and even deprive them of the common necessities for their support.

At this time the Peparethians, a people in alliance with Athens, who inhabited an island equally distant from Eubœa and Thessaly, made a descent on Halonesus, where they surprized and carried off the Macedonian garrison in chains. The king therefore detached some forces, which soon drove out the Peparethians from their new conquest, and inflicted the sharpest severities of war upon those insolent invaders. Their sufferings were made the most of at Athens, and gave occasion for new complaints. The generals were ordered to protect the wretched Peparethians, and the orators inveighed, as usual, against the cruelty of PHILIP.

THE Athenians were now tampering with the inhabitants of Oreum and Eretria in the island of Eubœa, to oppose the Macedonian interest; when the king of Persia, fearing an invasion from PHILIP, which was become the common topic of discourse, sent his agents to Athens, to enliven the present spirit of the people. Elevated with the prospect of powerful succours, they sent troops into Eubœa,

bœa, to bear down the partizans of Macedon. These troops were commanded by Phocion. Many cities there deserted from PHILIP. His garrisons were expelled from some : others shut their gates against them. The Macedonian adherents quitted the island, and all Eubœa returned to its attachments with Athens.

PHILIP's great designs did not permit him to prevent this revolution in Eubœa. But he made the most effectual preparations for damping the joy and exultation of it. He collected an army of thirty thousand men, and invested Perinthus. The city was strong from its situation, and rich from its extensive commerce. It had ever been in strict alliance with Athens, and supplied Attica with a considerable part of its provisions. The king raised towers to a sufficient height to command the walls. From them he poured into the town vast quantities of missive weapons. His battering rams were at the same time employed against the walls ; and his miners were busy at the foundations. All the force of arms, fire, and labor, was exerted to gain the town, and a considerable breach was quickly made in the walls. But the Perinthians acted with a steady courage. They presented themselves in array of battle on the ruins of their fortifications. And a second wall appeared to stop the progress of the enemy, which had been raised by the citizens to a sufficient height

height for covering their workmen, and securing their retreat. The Byzantines, conceiving their own safety concerned, sent them in great quantities of arms. The king of Persia ordered his Satraps to exert themselves for the preservation of the place. And the governor of Phrygia threw into it much provision and military stores, with a powerful reinforcement of troops, paid by Persia, and commanded by officers sent from Byzantium. So that PHILIP, finding the siege protracted, changed it into a blockade; and taking with him such a number of men as might be sufficient, he proceeded to attack some cities of the Propontis. He was actually besieging Selymbria, when an Athenian fleet came thither, laden with provisions for the relief of those cities. These ships he made no scruple of seizing and detaining; but upon a representation of ambassadors sent from Athens, who declared that the ships were bound for Lemnos, he dismissed them afterwards.

IN the mean time, Leon, the Byzantine ambassador was soliciting assistance at Athens; and for this purpose appeared in the gallery appointed for the public speakers. His stature was low; his legs remarkably short; and his belly round and prominent. At sight of this extraordinary figure, the people instantly burst into loud and tumultuous peals of laughter. Leon was not at all disconcerted. "Men of Athens," said he, "you laugh at my
" person.

“ person. You would laugh much more, were
“ you to see my wife. She is still less than I am;
“ and yet, when we disagree, the whole city of By-
“ zantium is too little to hold us.” The Athenians,
charmed with this presence of mind, changed their
contempt into applause, and gave him a favorable
hearing. They decreed that a powerful fleet should
be sent to the Hellespont. But the command was
entrusted to Chares. Thus corruption and intrigue
defeated the most vigorous measures of this misguid-
ed people.

THE sole intent of Chares was to gratify his
avarice and luxury. His vices were so well known,
that the towns by which he sailed, refused to admit
him; and when he appeared before Byzantium, the
inhabitants could by no means be persuaded to o-
pen their gates to him. Stung with this disgrace,
he bore down on the Macedonian fleet, which lay
at anchor before Chalcedon. Amyntas, the Mac-
edonian admiral came to meet him, fell furiously up-
on his fleet, sunk several of his ships, and took o-
thers; and obliged the shattered remains to retire
to the coast of Asia. This encouraged PHILIP to
avow his design against Byzantium, which he now
besieged. But the Athenians were eager to relieve
the place. They resolved on a new armament, and
wisely trusted Phocion with the command. Him the
Byzantines cheerfully received; and PHILIP saw
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the necessity of rising from before it, for which a fair pretence now offered.

WHEN he first marched to Perinthus, he was met by ambassadors from Atheas, king of Scythia, who implored his aid against the king of the Isthians, who infested his dominions. They promised to secure to PHILIP the succession of his kingdom, if, by his arms, Atheas might be rescued from the present danger. He instantly ordered a body of forces to his assistance, promising to follow them in person. But the seasonable death of the Isthian king relieved Atheas from his difficulties, who now disavowed all the propositions made by his ambassadors, and even refused to pay the forces which had marched. PHILIP therefore raised the siege, and prepared for an expedition into Scythia.

THE Athenians, having now at length seen that formidable enemy, whose arms had been long accustomed to success, foiled in two sieges of great importance, and principally by their counsels and arms; retiring before their general, and forced from all designs on Greece, to retrieve the honor of his arms in parts remote and barbarous, were confirmed in their present dispositions; which were universally of the active and vigorous kind.

PHILIP had been followed into Scythia by a reinforcement under the command of his son Alexander, and gained there a complete victory, after an obstinate resistance, and great slaughter on both sides. More than twenty thousand prisoners, of all ages and sexes, were taken. The rest of the spoil consisted of arms, chariots, and twenty thousand mares, which were destined for the magnificent studs of Pella; where PHILIP kept no fewer than thirty thousand mares, and three hundred stallions.

THE Triballi, a barbarous people, little differing in manners from the Scythians; who had acknowledged themselves subjects of Macedon; and had given PHILIP a free passage through their country; now, as he returned, and was marching through the defiles of the Moesian mountains, boldly opposed his progress, and insisted on a share of his booty. The Macedonians, not suspecting any opposition, marched on securely. The demand of the Triballi confounded them, and the attack which immediately succeeded, they were totally unprepared to repel. Laden with booty, incumbered with baggage, and inclosed in a narrow and disadvantageous situation, they could neither assist their fellows, nor defend themselves; so that this army, so often victorious, was now in danger of perishing, without an opportunity of exerting their valour, and by a contemptible enemy. To increase the confusion, certain mercen-

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ary Greeks in the army made the same demand with the Triballi. In this imminent distress, PHILIP rushed into the heat of all the tumult, and, where the contest was most violent, fought a long time with extraordinary valor. At length his horse sunk under him; and the same weapon, which pierced the beast, wounded him also dangerously in the thigh; and he lay senseless on the earth, surrounded by the enemy. Prince Alexander, who distinguished himself on this occasion, flew immediately, with the bravest of his attendants, to the rescue of his father. He covered him with his shield; the enemy was driven back, and the king conveyed safely from the tumult. His danger inspired the Macedonians with fury. The Triballi were no longer able to sustain their attack. They fled and dispersed; but the confusion of the Macedonians gave them an opportunity of carrying off most of the booty.

PHILIP's wound occasioned a lameness ever after, which he bore with some impatience. On which account, Alexander once said to him, "How can you, Sir, be displeased at an accident, which, at every step you take, recalls your valor to remembrance?"

BUT now a new scene began to open in Greece. The port of Cirrha had been demolished in the time of Solon, and the lands of the Cirrheans con-

secrated to the Delphian god. However the Locrians of Amphissa had, for some time past, repaired the harbour and cultivated the lands. This was now complained of in the Amphictyonic council. And the Amphictyons themselves, assisted by the Delphians, full of a religious fervor, demolished, burned and destroyed the harbour, houses, and all the effects and possessions, which the labor and industry of the Amphisseans had produced. But as they were preparing to retire, these people appeared in arms to defend their property, and furiously attacked the Delphians. Some of the Amphictyons were made prisoners, and all the rest forced to a precipitate retreat. This action of the Amphisseans was considered as an heinous aggravation of their impiety. An extraordinary council of the Amphictyons was appointed; at which however the Athenians and Thebans would send no deputies to assist. In this assembly it was unanimously resolved, that the Amphictyons should declare war against the Locrians of Amphissa; and Cottyphus, the president of the council, was appointed general of the Amphictyonic army. This general behaved without resolution. Instead of improving some advantages which he obtained, he entered into a treaty with the Amphisseans. A fine was imposed upon them; and a sufficient time allowed for the payment. The most culpable citizens were banished; and others, who disallowed the sacrilege, were restored to their

their possessions. But instead of conforming to the terms of this treaty, the Locrians, who only fought to gain time, refused absolutely to pay the fine, recalled the banished men, and still continued to cultivate the consecrated lands. Their conduct, with all the necessary aggravations, was represented in the next general council; wherein it was determined to settle the boundaries of the lands by pillars; and the Amphisseans were enjoined to cease from such violation for the future. The Amphictyons therefore again visited those lands; and were again repulsed by the Amphisseans, who wounded Cottyphus, and put his attendants to flight. This new outrage increased the clamour and indignation of the assembly. They declared, that in order to discharge those sacred duties which they owed to heaven, and that they might not fall under those dire curses by which they and their posterity were bound, it was necessary to apply to some powerful instrument of the divine vengeance. With one consent therefore, they decreed a deputation to the king of Macedon, inviting him to assist Apollo and the Amphictyons, and to repel the outrages of the Amphisseans; for which purpose he was constituted general and commander of their forces with full and unlimited powers. Considering the distance of the king from his own dominions, and the confessed moderation of the former determination of the council, we cannot agree with those writers, who impute all this

to the policy of PHILIP himself. However that be, when he received their commission in Thrace, while he was yet on his return homeward, he signified his reverence for the venerable council, and declared his readiness to execute their orders.

PHILIP now prepared to act in the character with which he was lately invested. He set sail for Greece with a numerous fleet. But Chares and Proxenus, the Athenian commanders, were ready to oppose his passage with a superior naval force. An engagement might hazard or retard his design. He therefore dispatched a light vessel, with letters to Antipater, informing him that certain commotions had arisen in Thrace, which obliged the king to appear immediately in that country. Such orders and directions were added, as such a design required. Some letters were also addressed to queen Olympias. The vessel, as was intended, fell into the enemy's hands. The dispatches were sent to Athens, and there opened, the queen's letters excepted. The admirals were ordered to quit their station and flee for the Chersonesus, and the king landed without molestation.

ON his landing, he summoned all those people who sent deputies to the great council, to attend his standard, and assist in the punishment of sacrilege. Thus he could distinguish his adherents from

his

his opponents, and render the latter odious, as the abettors of sacrilege. The Thebans first received the summons, and declined it; tho' afterwards they sent a body of infantry, under the command of Proxenus, one of their generals, who was a pensioner of PHILIP. The Lacedæmonians would have no share in the dispute. But the Athenians went still farther; for they furnished a body of ten thousand foreign troops to the Amphisseans. But these, together with the Amphisseans, fled before the king, who pursued them to their town, and found an easy admittance. Here he stationed a garrison, and made such dispositions, as might be agreeable to the Amphictyons. Some other cities, which had shared in the sacrilege, were dismantled or razed.

THIS created terror and confusion at Athens. That state, in order to gain time, sent an embassy to PHILIP to demand a truce. At the same time they pressed the different communities of Greece to unite with Athens against the Macedonian power. The Corinthians, Eubœans, Megareans, Leucadians and Corcyræans, consented to form the league. And now the fate of Greece seemed to depend on the determination of the Thebans, who fluctuated greatly. At this instant PHILIP seized on the citadel of Elatea, which he fortified. This was a Phocian city of considerable note, in the midst of a small plain, between two chains of mountains; the one
opening

opening into Phocis; the other leading to Bæotia. Thus was he master of a post of the utmost consequence, at the distance of but two days march from Attica; absolute commander, as it were, of the citadel and fortrefs both of Thebes and Athens; conveniently situated for receiving succours from Thesaly and Macedon; and entirely at liberty, either to give battle to those, who might presume to appear in arms against him, or to protract the war to any length that might be found convenient.

Now it appeared indeed that the liberty of Greece was at stake. The news of this came to Athens in the evening, which city was one continued scene of uproar and confusion the whole night long. At the dawn of day a senate was held, and the people of Athens, at the persuasion of Demosthenes, declared war in form against the king of Macedon. And at the persuasion of the same great orator, the Thebans themselves at last resolved to accept of the assistance of Athens, and to desire that Assistance by a decree, which was executed in form. Thus was the policy of PHILIP defeated by the eloquence of Demosthenes; and the seizing of Elatæa, which he had reasonably considered as the most effectual measure for securing the Thebans to his party, proved the very means of driving them into the interest of his enemies.

THE Athenian army was composed of all the citizens of the age for military service, and commanded by Lyficles and Chares; the first undistinguished by merit or abilities; the character of the last we have had already. They arrived at Thebes and were received with affection and joy. The Theban generals had the supreme command of the land-forces, yet acting in concert with those of Athens; but every measure was taken by the advice of Demosthenes. The confederate army encamped within two days' march of the Macedonians. Parties were detached from each side, which sometimes met and fought with fury. In two of these encounters the Macedonians were driven back to their camp. These successes were ascribed principally to the conduct and valour of the Athenians, and occasioned mighty exultation at Athens.

BUT PHILIP, conscious of his superior skill, determined to bring on a general engagement. He took a favorable opportunity of decamping, and led his army to the plain of Chæronæa. It was formed of thirty-two thousand men, warlike, disciplined, and long inured to toils and dangers. But then this body was composed of different nations and countries, who had each their distinct and separate views and interests.

IN this respect the confederates had the advantage of them. For, tho' they did not amount to thirty thousand complete, yet the same motives and the same zeal influenced and animated them all. But this illustrious body was unhappily entrusted to men unworthy of so important a charge: while their enemies were commanded by a prince rendered famous by a long series of victories and great achievements, whose abilities and renown inspired his soldiers with the utmost confidence and firmest assurances of victory.

AND now the fatal morning appeared, which was for ever to decide the cause of liberty and the empire of Greece. The Thebans made the right wing of the confederate Greeks, with the Sacred Band in front, formed of generous and warlike youths, connected and endeared to each other by all the noble enthusiasm of love and friendship. The centre was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians. And the Athenians composed the left wing.

ON the left of the Macedonian army stood Alexander, at the head of a chosen body of noble Macedonians, supported by the famous cavalry of Thessaly. As this prince was then but nineteen, his father was careful to curb his youthful impetuosity, and to direct his valor; and for this purpose surrounded him with a number of experienced officers. In the

centre

centre were those Greeks, who had united with PHILIP, and on whom he had the least dependence. And in the right wing was the Phalanx commanded by the king in person.

ALEXANDER began the charge, falling with all the fury of youthful courage on the Sacred Band of Thebes. The gallant youths, not timely, or not duly supported, bore up for a while against the torrent, but at length, overpowered by superior numbers, sunk down on that ground where they had been originally stationed, each by the side of his darling friend, raising up a bulwark by their bodies, against the progress of the enemy. But the young prince pushed on through all the carnage, and fell furiously on the main body of the Thebans, where the contest was for some time supported with mutual violence. The Athenians on the right wing fought with great spirit and intrepidity. At length part of the centre and of the left wing (the Phalanx excepted) yielded to their impetuous attack, and fled with precipitation. When, instead of improving the opportunity, by charging the phalanx in flank, and so breaking that formidable body, they wildly pressed forward in pursuit of the flying enemy, themselves in all the tumult and disorder of a rout. PHILIP saw the error with all the contempt of a skilful general, observing to those around him, that "the Athenians knew not how to conquer."

"quer." He ordered the Phalanx to change its position, and by a sudden evolution, to gain possession of an adjacent eminence. From hence they marched deliberately down, firm and collected, and fell with their united force on the Athenians now confident of success. The shock was irresistible.— They were at once over-whelmed. Many lay crushed by the weight of the enemy ; while the rest escaped by a tumultuous flight, bearing down with them those troops which had been stationed for their support. Here the famed Demosthenes, valiant in words, at the very first appearance of a reverse of fortune, cast away his shield and appeared foremost in the general rout. It is said, that being impeded in his flight by some brambles, his imagination was so possessed with the presence of the enemy, that he cried out lustily for mercy.

ALL this while Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing and at length broke the Thebans, who fled and were pursued with great carnage. The centre was now abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But PHILIP determined to conclude his important victory by an act of apparent clemency, and gave orders that the Greeks should be spared. In this action more than one thousand of the Athenians lay dead on the field of battle, and two thousand were made prisoners. And the loss of the Thebans was not inferior.

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THE evening of the battle closed the havoc, and PHILIP received the congratulations of his officers, whom he invited, together with the ambassadors of his allies, the Athenian Prisoners of eminence, and those who had been sent to demand their dead, to a magnificent entertainment. This was for some time continued with decency and well-corrected joy. But when the Athenians retired, the Macedonians gave a freer course to their gaiety and festivity, which were continued to the approach of day. It was then proposed to visit the field of battle. For this purpose the king, and all his company came forth, crowned with festal garlands and warm with wine.

THEY first came to the Theban quarter. Here they beheld the bodies of those three hundred, united by the ties of sacred friendship and in death united, all lying in the order in which they had originally stood. The affecting sight struck their conquerors with awe and veneration. PHILIP himself hung over them in wonder and pity. He melted into tears; and, raising his hands in admiration of the virtue of these gallant Thebans, pronounced a solemn curse on those, who could be base enough to suspect their friendship of any thing criminal or infamous.

THENCE they proceeded to the part, where the Athenians had fought. This scene struck the king

with a violent impression of his late danger, and the importance of his success. In the joy of his heart, he began to sing out the late declaration of war, which Demosthenes had drawn up. On which Demades the Athenian orator, who was his prisoner, and attended him, took the liberty of saying, "Sir, you are acting the part of Theristes, when fortune had enabled you to appear in that of Agamemnon." No rebuke could have been more flattering to PHILIP, who really hoped to appear in Asia, at the head of the Greeks, like that ancient king. It awakened him at once from his extravagance. He blushed; and cast to the ground the chaplet of flowers which adorned his brows. With the warmest expressions of friendship and esteem he pronounced Demades free, and led back his crowd of revellers to his tent, where they resumed their places at the table with reserve and seriousness. Here he took notice of the imminent hazard to which he had been exposed, and expatiated on the vast abilities of one single speaker, which had raised so many enemies against him, and which had appeared almost a counterpoise to the whole power of Macedon. His courtiers hence took occasion to persuade him to march to Athens, that insolent and presumptuous city; that his honor and tranquility equally obliged him to crush that turbulent state and raze its walls to their foundations. But PHILIP, whose views were juster, and his policy more extensive, received the proposal with

with disdain. "Have I encountered all these toils and dangers for glory," said he, "And shall I destroy the theatre of that glory? The gods forbid it!"

From this time, all his actions were regularly influenced by those great designs of conquest which he meditated, and which now seemed ripening to execution. He laboured by moderation and condescension to gain the affections of the conquered Greeks. He dismissed the Athenian deputies with full permission to perform the funeral rites to the honor of their dead, and set their prisoners at liberty without ransom. These prisoners boldly requested their baggage too. "Indeed!" cried PHILIP smiling, "these men imagine that I have only conquered them at some sport," and then graciously complied with their request. But he judged that his dignity required him to shew some sense of the ingratitude of the Thebans, whom he had particularly favored. He obliged them to purchase both their dead and their prisoners; punished his principal enemies among them with death, or banishment, and confiscation; recalled three hundred of their exiles, who had suffered for his cause, and entrusted them with the administration of the government.

At Athens all was tumult and consternation on the news of their defeat. A decree passed, grant-

ing the rights of the city to all strangers who should take arms in its defence ; manumitting and arming the slaves ; restoring to their rank and honors all that had been declared infamous ; ordering the women and the sacred things into the Piræus ; and that the walls and fortifications should be repaired, and every provision made for maintaining a siege. And the great Phocion was at last appointed to command the forces, when it was too late to perform any effectual service ; while Lycicles was hauled away to execution.

ON the other hand, PHILIP not only sent home their dead, but even shewed such respect to the state, as to appoint his own son and Antipater his deputies on the occasion. These gave them all possible assurances of the king's gracious intentions to conclude a peace with them on terms equitable and advantageous to the Athenians. As an earnest of his friendship, he confirmed them in the possession of Oropus, which the Thebans had given up. But, as he did not chuse to leave to them the empire of the sea, which might tempt them to make new efforts for the recovery of their power, he determined to make himself master of Samos. Thither he sent some forces ; and a carriage loaden with stones, was so contrived, that under the pretence of being admitted through one of the gates of the city, which commanded the island, it there stopped, and was so engaged,

engaged, that at the approach of the Macedonians, the gates could not be shut ; so that the enemy entered, and all resistance was in vain. But their laws, their constitution, and all their other territories were left to the Athenians ; and the only condition required from them was, that they should send their deputies to a general council, to be assembled at Corinth, on an affair in which every state of Greece was equally interested.

PHILIP was now at Corinth, where the deputies of the states attended. The grand assembly was convened, and PHILIP declared his design of marching into Asia, to destroy that monarchy which had ever been formidable to Greece. He demanded the honor of being nominated their leader and general ; desired them to regulate the contingent that each state was to furnish ; and he, on his part, engaged to employ all the forces of his kingdom in this glorious cause. The proposal was received with acclamation. The number of troops, which each state was to supply, was ascertained ; and the whole amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, exclusive of the Macedonians : a prodigious force ! of which Greece, 'till now, had no just idea. One morning the deputies expressed some impatience, when PHILIP lay in bed longer than ordinary, when they were appointed to attend him. " You need not wonder," said Parmenio,

“ that my master sleeps, while you are awake ; for
“ while you slept, he was waking.”

PHILIP now parted from the Greeks with exultation and triumph, having first lavished his favors on the several deputies, and sent them home to inspire their countrymen with the most favorable sentiments of him. But the period was approaching, when all those flattering hopes of greatness and renown, which totally possessed the soul of this great prince, were to be utterly defeated. His repeated violations of the marriage-bed, had enflamed the severe and haughty temper of his queen Olympias, who seemed determined to revenge them, at the same time that she continued her reproaches and complaints. These extinguished all remains of affection in him, and estranged him totally from the queen.

HE had several favorites ; but at length conceived a passion of a more serious nature for Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, his general, favorite and kinsman. As she was no less amiable in her temper and accomplishments, than in the extraordinary graces of her person, he thought he should consult his own happiness most effectually by forming a perpetual union with this lady.

IN vain did Alexander remonstrate, that by divorcing Olympias, he exposed him to the danger of contending with a number of competitors for the crown, and rendered his succession precarious. His marriage with Cleopatra was declared in form, and celebrated with all due grandeur and solemnity. The young prince, however dissatisfied, was obliged to attend these solemnities, and sat in silent indignation at that feast, which proclaimed the disgrace of his mother. In such circumstances his impetuous mind was susceptible of the slightest irritation. Attalus, intoxicated by the honors paid to his kinswoman, as well as by the present festivity, was rash enough to call publicly on the Macedonian nobles to pour out their libations to the gods, that they might grant the king the happy fruits of the present nuptials, legitimate heirs to the throne. "Wretch!" cried Alexander, with his eyes sparkling with fury and vexation, "dost thou then call me bastard?" and instantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with double violence. Clamor and confusion ensued. The king, in a fit of rage, snatched out his sword, and flew directly towards his son. His precipitation, his lameness, and the quantity of wine, in which he had indulged, happily disappointed his rash purpose: he stumbled and fell on the floor, while Alexander with an unpardonable insolence, cried out, "Behold, ye Macedonians, this is the king, who is
" preparing

“preparing to lead you into Asia: see where, in
“passing but from one table to another, he is fallen
“to the ground!”

THIS accident put an end to the disorder. Alexander retired, and, soon after quitting his father's court, conducted Olympias into Epirus, and then passed into Illyria. The Illyrians were now actually in arms against PHILIP, and obliged him to march into their territories with all his forces. Alexander was at the court of Pleurias, the Illyrian king, when PHILIP engaged him in the field, and gained a complete victory, after an obstinate contest, in which his person was in the utmost danger. The enemy poured down upon him with all their force; when at the time that he appeared ready to sink under their desperate attack, a young Macedonian, named Pausanias, distinguished by his illustrious birth, and by the dignity and gracefulness of his person, threw himself before the king, and, without so much as covering himself with his shield, suffered the enemy to wreak their fury on him, and to bury those weapons in his body, which were directed against his royal master. In his last agonies he disclosed the secret of this desperate generosity to Attalus, his friend. He told him that a young Macedonian, called also Pausanias, his fellow-soldier, had derided that affection, which the king had frequently expressed for him, as the effect of a
most

most shocking passion, too odious to be named; that, impatient of this shocking reproach, he had formed the resolution of proving by his death, that his attachment to his prince was of the most strictly virtuous kind. He considered this way of dying as the most indubitable proof of his probity and honor; and was perhaps further moved thereto by that noble testimony, which the king had borne to the bravery and virtue of the Sacred Band of Thebes. Attalus saw his friend expire, and determined to punish the man, whose insolence had made so fatal an impression on his mind, as the immediate author of his death.

PHILIP returned to Macedon, and there found Demaratus, one of the most illustrious citizens of Corinth. In discoursing of the affairs of Greece, the king asked him, If the people had yet forgot their animosities, and lived in due harmony with each other? To this Demaratus freely answered, at the same time expressing his regard to PHILIP: "How can you, sir, affect an attention to the tranquility of Greece, while your own family is distracted by quarrels and dissensions?" The king, roused by this reply, saw and confessed his error, and declared his resolution of healing all his domestic troubles. He recalled Alexander to Macedon; and Olympias appeared once more at court, seemingly content with the titles of queen and mother of the prince,

but

but still harbouring the most inveterate resentment against her husband and rival, and inspiring her son with the same sentiments.

SOME time after, Pexodorus, king of Caria, offered his daughter in marriage to Aridæus, one of PHILIP's natural sons, whose understanding had suffered from a poison, which Olympias had given him in his childhood. She now made Alexander believe that his father intended Aridæus for his successor, and persuaded him to apply to Pexodorus, and espouse the lady himself. Overtures were made accordingly, and eagerly received. But PHILIP, informed of these transactions, reproached his son with his meanness, in courting the alliance of a base Carian, a conduct unworthy of him, who had an undoubted right to the throne of Macedon! The blame of the affair fell on the agents and assistants; and all discord seemed to subside in the royal family.

BUT now Attalus, determined to avenge his friend, invited the other Pausanias to a feast. Here, when he had by wine and revelling rendered him insensible, he called in his menial servants, and exposed him to their abandoned brutality, as the meanest of those detestable wretches, amongst whom he had presumed to account his gallant friend. Pausanias, when sensible of this horrid affront, flew to the king, and called loudly for justice and
vengeance

vengeance upon Attalus. The original cause probably well-known to the king, and his regard for the uncle of his new queen, over-powered his complaints. But the king endeavoured to dissipate his vexation, by conferring upon him a new command in the army. But he, who had rashly imputed dishonor to another, could not bear it himself ; but still harboured the most lively resentment. The partizans of Olympias and Alexander expressed the deepest sense of his injuries, and laboured to irritate his vexation. They said, that the king, by denying justice, made himself an accomplice in the guilt of Attalus ; and that the outrage was of such a dreadful nature, as demanded some signal stroke of illustrious vengeance. Alexander himself is accused of listening to him with affected pity, and of spurning him on to the amplest and most extensive revenge, by quoting a line of Euripides, in which Medea threatens to involve in one great ruin

THE FATHER, BRIDE, AND HUSBAND.

THE secret emissaries of Persia also, knowing the discontent of this man, and solicitous to free their country from the danger of a declared enemy, by every possible method, urged him on to the desperate purpose of executing his revenge on PHILIP, as a tyrant, who denied him justice.

WHILE

WHILE these malignant passions preyed on the unhappy youth, he went by chance into the school of one Hermocrates, who professed to teach Philosophy; to whom he proposed this question: "What shall that man do who wishes to transmit his name with lustre to posterity?" Hermocrates, either artfully and from design, or the natural malignity of his temper, answered, "He must kill him, who has atchieved the greatest actions: thus shall the memory of the hero be joined with his who slew him, and both descend together to posterity." This suited the present disposition of Pausanias. And thus various accidents and circumstances concurred to prompt him to the dreadful purpose of satiating his revenge with the blood of PHILIP.

THE king, now at the point of his departure for Asia, concluded a marriage between his daughter Cleopatra, and Alexander king of Epirus, the brother of Olympias, for whom he ever retained a strict regard. A few days before the marriage, his queen Clopatra was delivered of a son. He determined to celebrate these joyful events by solemn games and festivals at Ægæ. Thither the deputies of all the Grecian states were invited. The concourse was great and splendid. The games were closed with a magnificent feast, in which PHILIP displayed all his usual politeness. As his mind was quite possessed with his great designs, he asked Neoptolemus

●ptolemus, one of his guests, whether he could repeat any verses applicable to the affairs of Persia. The player instantly, from a tragedy called Cinyras, began,

- ‘ In dazzling pomp, O fatally elate ! [great !]
- ‘ Whose towering hopes, whose thoughts, (how
- ‘ Beyond heav’n’s concave wing their aery way ;
- ‘ O’er realms and nations vast and wide,
- ‘ With vain delusive pride,
- ‘ Extending their imaginary sway.
- ‘ Lo, where in dreadful unexpected hour,
- ‘ Death comes, inexorable pow’r !
- ‘ To blast these hopes, amidst their fairest bloom ;
- ‘ Arm’d with pale horror and despair,
- ‘ To stop this mad career ;
- ‘ And buries all in night’s eternal gloom.”

These verses were received with the loudest acclamations ; tho’ no application was at that time thought of.

THE next day was destined to the entertainments of the theatre. Thither the numbers attending, who had passed the night in gaiety, repaired by the dawn of day. They marched in solemn order. Twelve statues of the gods were borne in procession. To these a thirteenth was added of exquisite workmanship, representing the great king of Macedon. When the company were seated, PHILIP came

from his palace, attended by the two Alexanders, his son and son-in law. He was cloathed in a white flowing robe, as the Grecian deities were represented. His guards were at a distance, to shew that the king confided in the affections of his people. Unhappily the danger was too near him. As he marched on in all his pomp, Pausanias slipped through the crowd, and with a desperate resolution, waited his approach in a narrow passage, just at the entrance into the Theatre. The king advanced towards him. The villain suddenly drew his ponyard, and plunged it into his heart. The conqueror of Greece, and the terror of Asia, fell prostrate to the ground, and instantly expired.

THE murderer flew towards the gates of the city, where horses stood ready for him, said to have been prepared by Olympias herself. Some of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king; while others pursued Pausanias. Among the last were Perdiccas, Attalus and Leonatus. The swiftest of foot, which was Perdiccas, came up with the assassin first, as he was preparing to mount: but being, by his precipitation, entangled in some vines, a violent effort to extricate his foot brought him to the ground. As he was rising, Perdiccas was upon him, and with his companions soon dispatched him with repeated wounds. His body was hung upon a gibbet, but in the morning, appeared crowned with a golden diadem,

an honor conferred on his remains by Olympias. She gloried in the deed, and triumphed publicly; paying the same honors to Pausanias, which were prepared for PHILIP. Both bodies were burned on the same pile, and their ashes deposited in the same tomb. She even consecrated the fatal dagger to Apollo, inscribed with the name of MYRTALIS.

THUS died PHILIP, king of Macedon, at the age of forty-seven years, after a reign of twenty-four, spent in toils and difficulties, in which he so eminently displayed that extent and elevation of genius; that firmness and greatness of mind; that justness and accuracy, penetration and sagacity, in forming his designs; that true discernment in chusing the means of conducting them; and that vigor and resolution in executing them; which have justly rendered him the object of admiration. He was undoubtedly the most consummate politician and greatest general of the age in which he lived. For his successes were obtained over the wisest and bravest people in the universe. But he gloried more in the success acquired by his virtues and intellectual accomplishments, than in that, which he gained by the force of arms: and the reason, which himself assigned, points out his true principle. "In the former case," said he, "the glory is entirely my own; in the other, my generals and soldiers share it with me."



C H A P. II.

OF SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO was chosen Proconsul of Spain just as he entered into the twenty-fourth year of his age. He was the son of Publius, the grandson of Lucius, and the nephew of Cncius Scipio. His election was out of course; for he was at that time of *Ædilitian* rank only, having never been *Prætor*, much less consul. Nor was the command conferred upon him by the senate, as usual. For the fathers were at a loss on this occasion. Their affairs had gone ill in that province; and the several persons, who were nominated, declined it. An extraordinary assembly of the people was therefore ordered and appointed for the election of a proconsul. Young SCIPIO was the only one that offered for the service, and he obtained the chearful suffrages of the whole Roman people. Both his father, who had governed in Spain with the same authority, and his uncle Cncius, had done the republic eminent services there; but were both of them at last cut off in one campaign, by the Carthaginians.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS. 101

ginians. On their death, a young Roman knight, named Caius Marcius, gathered together the Roman fugitives, and being chosen their general by the soldiers, first repulsed Asdrubal, who attacked him in his intrenchments ; and afterwards surprized and burned the Carthaginian camp. But Marcius having no lawful command, Claudius Nero was sent into Spain, and had the good fortune to shut up Asdrubal on a neck of land, where he was reduced to great straits, and conditioned to leave Spain with all his troops. But the treaty having relaxed the diligence of the Romans, the Carthaginian took advantage of his inattention, conveyed away his troops by night, and gained the plains; preserving even his baggage and elephants. Such was the state of the province when SCIPIO was chosen Proconsul, in the year of the city five hundred and forty-two.

OUR illustrious hero had given very early tokens of his future greatness. For when Hannibal had passed the Alps, in the first encounter upon the Ticinus, he saved the life of the Consul his father, who was grievously wounded in that engagement. And when after the battle, the Consul would have given him the due reward of a Civic Crown, for having saved the life of a citizen, with great modesty he refused that honor, " Lest he should seem in any respect superior to him whose life

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“he had preserved.” Such gallantry, with such virtue, distinguished him at the age of sixteen years.

Two years after happened the fatal action at Cannæ, in which he was also present. Those Romans, who fled to Canusium after the battle, made choice of Appius Claudius Pulcher, and young **SCIPIO**, then eighteen years of age, to be their chief commanders. While these two were deliberating what measures to take, notice was given, that the young nobility among the troops, were assembled in an house, and contriving how to leave Italy and retire to some of those kings, who were friends to Rome, which they now gave up for lost. Hereupon **SCIPIO**, filled with zeal, took with him a band of foldiers, surprized the cowards, and with his sword drawn came up to Cecilius Metellus, the author of this pernicious design, whom he addressed thus, “I swear by the Great Jove, that I will neither desert the commonwealth, nor suffer any other Roman citizen to desert it ; but will consider any man as an enemy, who refuses the same oath, and will employ this sword against him.” On this, they all took the same oath, and were secured under a strong guard. Thus did he manifest his zeal for the welfare of Rome, on his first entrance into public life.

He now embarked at Ostia with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, on board a fleet of thirty vessels ;

sels; and set out for his province, carrying with him Marcus Junius Silanus, as an assistant. Here the old army was delivered up to him by Claudius Nero. He harangued them; and gave them great commendation, for that in the midst of so many difficulties and distresses which they had undergone, they had not deserted the province. He embraced Marcus with particular ardor, thanked him for his care of the republic, heaped many marks of distinction upon him, took him near his person, and was not ashamed even to consult him, and on several occasions to follow his advice. He summoned a convention of the allies, to whom he made himself very acceptable. Indeed, the gracefulness of his person, and the affability and condescension of his behaviour, were such as gained him, on his first arrival, the hearts both of the Spaniards and Romans. Having every where settled the affairs of the province in the best manner and confirmed the troops, he led the army to their old winter quarters at Tarracon.

BUT when the season allowed him to take the field, he bent all his thoughts on the execution of a design, which he had formed before he left Rome. This design he now communicated to Caius Lælius, the commander of the fleet, and his intimate and inseparable friend; but carefully concealed it from all others. His scheme was to surprize New Carthage, the capital of the Carthaginian Empire in Spain;

Spain; where all the enemies treasures, machines of war, and naval stores were lodged. Lælius was to shut up the port with his fleet, while SCIPIO attacked the city by land. With this view the whole army passed the Iberus, and marching always in the night, arrived on the seventh day early in the morning before New Carthage. Then he imparted his design both to the officers and soldiers; represented to them of what importance the reduction of that city would be with regard to the entire conquest of Spain. He told them that Neptune had appeared to him, had advised him to that enterprize, and promised him success. He added that they would soon see a miracle wrought by that god in their favor. He knew the hour when the tide would ebb and leave the city accessible to his land forces on the side of the port. And he made use of this natural event, which was a mystery to the soldiers, to persuade them that he had a supernatural knowledge.

Having thus encouraged his troops; as soon as the tide ebbed, SCIPIO, at the head of five hundred resolute men, entered the basin, having learned from some fishermen that it was fordable when the tide was out; and marching up to the waist through the water, scaled the walls, which on that side were very low; while the Carthaginians were wholly intent on repelling the Romans, who attacked the city on the land-side. The confusion of the besieged

sieged was so great when they saw the Romans within the walls, that they abandoned the ramparts, and gave the rest of the army an opportunity of breaking down one of the gates, and entering the city. Mago, who commanded in the town, retired with his garrison, consisting of a thousand regular troops, and two thousand of the inhabitants, to the citadel; but was soon obliged to surrender at discretion. The number of free men taken prisoners amounted to ten thousand, besides a great multitude of foreign youths and hardy slaves intended for the fleet; besides women and children. The Africans were reduced to slavery; but the Spaniards were suffered to enjoy their estates, and live according to their own laws, only in subjection to Rome. Eight armed galleys were taken in the port, and one hundred and thirteen merchant ships laden with grain, arms, brass, iron, and naval stores. In the granaries were forty thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred and seventy thousand of barley. In the armories an immense quantity of warlike machines of all sorts were found, with seventy-four standards. As the city was taken by assault, Scipio gave it up to be plundered by his soldier, ordering them to bring all the booty into the marketplace; where, upon taking an inventory of the whole, he found, among other valuable effects, two hundred and seventy six cups of gold, almost all of them weighing a pound a piece; eighteen thousand
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three hundred pound weight of silver money, and a prodigious quantity of plate. All the brass money was distributed among the soldiers; and the rest of the rich spoils were delivered into the hands of Caius Flaminius the questor. The hostages, whom the Carthaginians had demanded of the cities and provinces of Spain, to the number of three hundred, as some write, but according to others, seven hundred and twenty-five, were all found in the city, and sent home by the Proconsul, loaden with gifts. Mago, and the other Carthaginian officers, were put into the hands of Lælius, who treated them with great humanity.

AFTER this glorious day, the Proconsul, leaving Lælius to command in the city, returned with his army to the camp and spent the night there. The next morning his officers, knowing that he was a great admirer of the fair sex, brought to him a young virgin of extraordinary beauty. Wherever she appeared, she charmed the eyes of all, and SCIPIO was struck at the first sight of her. But, tho' he was in the prime of his age, unmarried, and under no restraint, he did not suffer himself to be blinded by his rising passion. He examined the beautiful captive concerning her country, birth, and engagements; and finding that she was betrothed to a Celtiberian prince, named Allucius, he ordered both him and the captive's parents to be sent for, and
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put her untouched into their hands; telling them, that the only return he expected from them, was their friendship to the republic. The young Spaniard was so transported with joy, that he could not so much as return *SCIPIO* thanks. As for the parents of the captive, they had brought a considerable sum for the ransom of their daughter, which they offered to the generous Proconsul as a present, since he had freely given her to her lover without ransom. They pressed and entreated him to accept of it, and at length, throwing the money at his feet, retired. But *SCIPIO* immediately bestowed it upon *Allucius*, as an addition, on his part, to his wife's fortune. This piece of history is figured on the famous silver shield at Lyons in France, and is copied by bishop Burnet in his travels. This behaviour, truly heroic, did the Roman republic more service than even the taking of New Carthage. *Allucius* declared in Celtiberia, that the gods had sent into Spain a young conqueror almost equal to themselves. Upon his report, Celtiberia came over to the Roman party. *Allucius* joined the Roman troops at the head of fourteen-hundred chosen horse; and all Spain began to revolt from the Carthaginians.

AND NOW *SCIPIO* dispatched *Lælius*, and with him *Mago*, and fifteen captive senators of New Carthage in a vessel to Rome, to give the senate an account of his success. Never were news receiv-
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ed with more applause. The republic little expected to recover her affairs in Spain, and feared she had hazarded too much in the hands of a young general. The senate therefore was overjoyed to find, that the very first enterprize of their young commander had eclipsed the glory both of his father and uncle. As a mark of their satisfaction, and to reward his virtue, they continued him in his commission of Proconsul of Spain not for one year only, but 'till an order should be made for recalling him.

HAVING fortified New Carthage, and left a strong garrison in it, he marched to Tarracon, where he spent the winter in exercising his troops, and teaching them the most exact discipline. Early in the spring, he took the field, and, as the Carthaginian forces were divided into three bodies under three generals, he marched to attack Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, who was nearest to him, and whose army almost wholly consisted of Spaniards, except the Numidians under Masinissa. The Carthaginian was much perplexed at his approach, not knowing what course to take. But at length he resolved to hazard a battle, intending, if it proved unsuccessful, to make the best of his way to the Pyrenees, and crossing Gaul, to enter Italy. He posted himself on an eminence, near the city of Bæcula, in the midst of a plain watered by a river, which, winding round the eminence, made it a Peninsula.

Peninsula. This was a very advantageous post ; but SCIPIO, after two days' consideration, resolved to attack him before he was joined by the other Asdrubal and Mago. He succeeded in the attempt. The enemy was routed ; eight thousand of them being slain, and ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse taken prisoners. Their camp was also taken, and the plunder given up to the soldiers. All the Spaniards among the captives were set at liberty, and the Africans sold into slavery. On this, the whole multitude of Spaniards, including those who had surrendered or been taken before, with loud acclamations saluted SCIPIO with the title of King. But he, when silence had been obtained by proclamation, told them, that the title of IMPERATOR, conferred upon him by his own army, was to him of the highest estimation ; that the other of King, elsewhere so great, was at Rome intolerable ; and that he should be well-content to enjoy a regal disposition without the name. In the mean time Asdrubal, accompanied by Masinissa, fled towards the Pyrenees with as many troops and elephants as he could get together. The fame of this memorable action brought many of the petty kings and princes of the Spaniards to the Roman camp, to whom SCIPIO gave magnificent presents, and induced all the nations beyond the Iberus to renounce the Carthaginian party with all sincerity.

WHILE SCIPIO continued in the camp of Asdrubal, the quaestor brought to him a youth, named Massiva, who had been found among the captives, and by his comeliness and an air of grandeur in his deportment, seemed to be of noble extraction. The Proconsul, finding upon examination that he was a nephew of Masinissa, ordered him to be treated according to his rank. When he had finished some other affairs, he sent for the young prince again, and asked him, Whether he desired to return to his uncle? Massiva answered with tears in his eyes, that this was the utmost of his wishes. Upon which, the Proconsul, having ordered him to be richly dressed, presented him with an horse, finely accoutered, and in this manner sent him back under a guard. These were the methods by which SCIPIO gained the affections even of his enemies.

THE flight of Asdrubal towards the Pyrenees, gave the Proconsul no small uneasiness. However, he would not pursue him, but chose rather to lead his victorious army into the heart of the country, and to fix the several nations in an alliance with Rome. As to the Carthaginian generals, they joined their armies; and having consulted together about the best measures to be taken, it was resolved, that the son of Gisgo should resign his troops to Mago, and repair to the Balcaric islands, to make new le-

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vies there ; that Mago should post himself in Lusitania ; and that Asdrubal should pursue his intentions of marching into Italy and there join his brother with as many Spanish troops as he could draw together.

SCIPIO now conceived himself more than a match for the enemy, and therefore detached into Italy, to the assistance of the consul Marcus Livius Salinator against Hannibal, two thousand legionaries, eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls, and about two thousand horse, partly Numidians, and partly Spaniards. As the coasts of Italy were at this time threatened with a visit, he also sent, by order of the state, fifty long ships to Sardinia. All this while he busied himself in taking in many cities ; in which he was very successful ; and in observing with great diligence the motions of the enemy. At length he received intelligence that Hanno had been sent into Spain to supply the place of Asdrubal, and had joined Mago with a new army from Africa, and with great supplies from Celtiberia. SCIPIO therefore ordered out Marcus Junius Silanus, his proprætor, against them with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Silanus obtained over them a complete victory, notwithstanding the great disproportion of numbers, and took Hanno prisoner, who was sent with Lucius Scipio, the Proconsul's brother, to Rome, with many other captives of distinction. On

this success, SCIPIO with the rest of the army, besieged and took Aurinx, the strongest and wealthiest city in those parts; and drove Asdrubal the son of Gisco, to whom Mago had fled after his defeat, and who refused to fight him, into a corner of Spain, near the streights of Gades. He afterwards drew his troops into the hither Spain, and took up his winter-quarters at Tarracon, as usual.

MEAN time, this Asdrubal made all the necessary preparation for giving SCIPIO a warm reception in the Spring. For this purpose he drew together seventy thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, and engaged him in a large plain near Bæcula, on the confines of Bætica. But the victory fell to the Romans. The Carthaginians indeed behaved with extraordinary valour, and made such a resolute resistance, as almost disheartened the Romans; insomuch that SCIPIO was forced to dismount, seize a buckler, and throw himself sword in hand into the midst of the African battalions, before he could engage his men to make the necessary efforts for deciding the day in their favor. Asdrubal fled to his camp, but abandoned it in the night, and retired towards the sea. SCIPIO pursued him close, and, coming up with him, made a second furious havoc of his men; insomuch, that of his vast army, only six thousand were left about him, the Carthaginians being for the

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the most part killed, and the Spaniards returned, after the first battle, to their respective countries. With these small remains of so numerous an army, the three chiefs, Asdrubal, Mago, and Masinissa, gained the summit of a steep hill, and there intrenched themselves as well as they could. As the sea was near, first Asdrubal, and afterwards Mago, escaped in the night by a shameful flight; and finding ships ready to sail, they embarked for Gades, leaving their men to shift for themselves.

MASINISSA continued on the hill, where he was invested by Silanus, whom SCIPIO left there with a detachment, while he himself returned to Tarracon. A few days after the departure of the Proconsul, Silanus had a private interview with Masinissa; and tho' we know not the conditions of the engagement, into which the Numidian king entered with Rome, it is certain that he bound himself by such ties as proved indissoluble. The effects of his good understanding with Silanus immediately appeared; the troops, which he commanded upon the rock, being allowed to disperse, and himself to return to his own dominions, where he took proper measures to support the party which he had newly embraced.

SPAIN being now almost totally reduced, SCIPIO dispatched Lælius into Africa, to negotiate an

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alliance with Syphax, king of Masælyia, who had espoused the Carthaginian party. As Lælius was only a subaltern in SCIPIO's army, the king, for his greater security, insisted upon having a personal conference with the Proconsul himself. Hereupon, SCIPIO, leaving the brave Marcius at Tarracon with part of the army, and sending Silanus with the rest to New Carthage, embarked with Lælius for Africa, and arrived at the capital of king Syphax. As the fugitive Asdrubal happened to arrive there at the same time, the Numidian king would fain have had SCIPIO to enter into a conference with the Carthaginian, in order to an amicable accommodation. But the Proconsul excused himself, as not having received any commission to treat of peace: However, he accepted the invitation to dine at the king's table with Asdrubal: on which occasion, he appeared as much superior to his rival in the charms of conversation, as he had approved himself in the arts of war. Syphax was so taken with his eloquence, address, and noble behaviour, that he entered into a secret treaty with him, amusing the Carthaginian, who had a fleet there, 'till the Proconsul was safely arrived at New Carthage.

UPON his return, he marched in person to besiege Illiturgis, and sent Marcius to reduce Castulo. These two cities had not only revolted from the Romans, but had murdered or delivered up to the enemy

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enemy those who fled to them for protection, when the father and uncle of **SCIPIO** were slain. The former therefore being taken by assault, all the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, were put to the sword, and the city was razed. The latter capitulated, and was more favorably treated. **Marcus** in the next place appeared before **Astapa**, the inhabitants of which city, obstinately devoted to the Carthaginians, sallied out in good order to attack the Romans, and all died fighting, except fifty who had been left in the city to guard their effects, their wives and children, whom they had brought into the market-place, designing to destroy them all with fire and sword, in case the Romans should prevail. This trust they discharged upon the first news of the slaughter of their fellow-citizens, setting fire to a great pile, on the top of which they had placed the women, children, and their most valuable movables. This done, they threw themselves into the flames, leaving the Romans masters of an empty city.

WHILE **Marcus** was thus executing vengeance on the revolted cities, **SCIPIO** was returned to New Carthage. Here he celebrated funeral Games in honor of his father and uncle; which were scarce ended, when he was seized with a dangerous sickness. A report being afterwards given out, that he was dead; not only **Indibilis** and **Mandonius**, two petty kings,

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kings, immediately fell off from the Romans, but eight thousand legionaries, who were encamped on the banks of the Sucro, mutinied, drove away their leaders, and chose two common soldiers, Areius and Albius, to conduct them, and entered into the schemes of the revolted princes. These fellows, seeing themselves at the head of eight thousand Roman legionaries, had the insolence to usurp the consular dignity, and to order listers to march before them. The pretence for the mutiny was, their not having received pay for six months. But in the mean time the Proconsul, having recovered his health, and by a stratagem secured the ring-leaders of the revolt, caused their heads to be struck off. This so terrified the rest, that they all returned to their duty, and took a new military oath.

As to the Spanish princes who had revolted; SCIPIO was informed that they had raised an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse; and that they were living upon free quarter in the territories of the friends of Rome. Hereupon he marched against them, and coming up with them in the country of the Sedetani, gained there a complete victory, seventeen thousand Spaniards being killed upon the spot. After this defeat the two kings had no resource but in the clemency of the conqueror; who contented himself with obliging them to supply him with money enough to
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pay his troops. After this, the Proconsul marched with part of his troops towards Gades, the only city of Spain in the Carthaginian interest. His chief design in this journey, was to have an opportunity of conferring with Masinissa, who had shut himself up in that city with Mago, and was impatient to have a conference with the Roman general.

ACCORDINGLY, the Numidian prince, under the pretence of going out to forage, met SCIPIO, and entered into an alliance with Rome, advising the Proconsul to pass over into Africa, and lay siege to Carthage itself, which, he said, would be easily reduced. The treaty being concluded, the Proconsul returned to Tarracon, and Masinissa to Gades, after having pillaged some part of the continent, to conceal the true design of his journey. Soon after, Mago received orders to leave Gades, and hasten with all his forces to the assistance of Hannibal in Italy. Upon his departure, the Gaditani immediately submitted to the Romans, who were now become masters of all Spain. As Mago was coasting along Spain in his way to Italy, he formed a rash design of surprizing New Carthage; but lost eight thousand of his men in the attempt. This misfortune oblig'd him to stop at the Balcaric islands, where he forced ten thousand of the inhabitants into the service of his republic, and did not sail from those islands for Italy till the spring.

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AT Rome the senate no sooner received an account of the reduction of Spain, but they determined to recal SCIPIO. And accordingly, without giving him time to enjoy any rest after his fatigues, or even waiting for the new Comitia, they dispatched two persons to succede him, Cornelius Lentulus, and Marius Acidinus. The former was to govern the hither Spain, from the Pyrenees to the Sucro; and the latter the farther Spain, from the Sucro to the Ocean. To these SCIPIO surrendered the fasces without murmuring, and attended by his faithful Lellius, and his brother Lucius, immediately set sail with a squadron of ten ships; and returned to Italy. On his arrival, a senate was held in the suburbs in the temple of Bellona, when he modestly recounted his atchievements, and asked a triumph. This however he would not insist upon; as no man had ever yet triumphed without a magistracy. He then entered the city, and had carried before him into the public treasury fourteen thousand three hundred and forty two pounds weight of plate, and a great quantity of coined silver. Ascending the capitol, he there offered in sacrifice an Hecatomb, which he had vowed in Spain.

As SCIPIO arrived at Rome about the time of the new elections, it is not to be expressed with what zeal the centuries gave their suffrages in his favor, tho' he had not yet attained the years requisite for the

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the consular dignity, being only between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years of age. The colleague appointed him was Publius Licinius Crassus, surnamed Dives, and at this time Pontifex Maximus. When the fathers came to settle the provinces of the new Consuls, SCIPIO desired to be sent into Africa. But old Fabius, now president of the senate, in a long and studied speech, laboured to set forth the dangers of such an enterprize. It was very visible that jealousy of a rising merit, which already began to eclipse his own, was what chiefly animated Fabius at this time. And SCIPIO, in his answer, did not fail to expose this infirmity of the old President. After long and warm debates, the affair of the provinces of the two Consuls was put to the vote, when it was decreed, that SCIPIO should command in Sicily; and that, if he thought it for the advantage of the Republic, he might, with the fleet there, consisting only of thirty ships of war, pass over into Africa. As his thoughts were wholly bent on such an expedition, notwithstanding that his Colleague, at the persuasion of Fabius, did all he could to obstruct his measures, he obtained leave to take with him into Sicily, as many volunteers as he could get together, and a power to ask of the allies all things necessary for building and equipping a new fleet. Many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves to furnish him with corn, iron, timber, and naval stores. So that in forty days after cutting

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ting the timber, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new gallies, and about seven thousand volunteers.

HAVING disciplined the volunteers which he carried with him into Sicily, he sent Lælius with the choicest of them, on board a fleet of thirty gallies, to make a descent in Africa, and pillage the country. Lælius landed near Hippos, laid the territory about it waste, and threw the people of Carthage into the utmost consternation. Masinissa was no sooner informed of his arrival, than he went to confer with him, and expressed his surprize that SCIPIO so long delayed his departure from Sicily; since there never could be a more favorable opportunity of attacking Carthage, which was destitute both of men and provisions. The Numidian prince promised to join SCIPIO, the moment he should arrive, with all his forces: but advised Lælius to re-embark his troops and return without delay, since the Carthaginian fleet was getting ready to intercept him. Lælius followed his advice, and weighing anchor the next day, arrived safe in Sicily with an immense booty.

Soon after, SCIPIO surprized the city of Locri, which stood on the sea-coast near Sicily, and left Plæminius governor of the place. He then returned to the island, and there went on with his prepar-

tions for the African expedition ; hoping that at least the next year the Republic would suffer him to carry the war into the neighbourhood of Carthage. And he was indeed then permitted to pass over into Africa, and to take with him such of the Roman troops in Sicily, as he thought fit for that enterprize.

It has been observed already that he had gained over the two Numidian kings, Syphax and Masinissa. On the other hand, Asdrubal the son of Gisco, undertook to draw off one of them at least, by means of his daughter Sophonisba, who is represented by historians as a lady of extraordinary beauty, sublime Genius, engaging manner, and of a courage above her sex. Her father, to gain Masinissa, had promised her in marriage to him ; but that prince being afterwards unfortunately dispossessed of the throne of his ancestors, Asdrubal broke his word, and gave her to Syphax, who, forgetting his engagements with SCIPIO, entered into an alliance with Carthage. However, to keep some measures with Rome, he wrote to SCIPIO, acquainting him with his marriage, the new alliance he had made with the Carthaginians, and the necessity that he was under of taking part with them, in case they were attacked. The Proconsul received this letter with some surprize ; but concealing the contents of it from his army, he assembled his troops, and told them, that both Masinissa and Syphax complained of

his dilatoriness, and pressed him not to delay his departure; since they were ready to join him with all their forces. He then ordered his fleet to Lilybæum, and commanded his troops to repair thither by land. It is not certain, what number of men SCIPIO embarked; but never was embarkation made with more order and solemnity. The concourse of people, who came from all parts to see him set sail, and wish him a prosperous voyage, was prodigious. Just before he weighed anchor, he appeared on the poop of his galley; and after an herald had proclaimed silence, addressed a solemn prayer to the gods; which ended, he ordered a victim to be slain, threw the entrails into the sea, and then, while the trumpets sounded, weighed and sailed out of the harbour with a favorable wind. He arrived safe on the coast of Africa, and landed at the Fair Promontory.

THE alarm and terror, which this unexpected descent caused at Carthage, is not to be expressed. The Republic had no general to make head against SCIPIO, except Asdrubal the son of Gisco, who was not a match for him. Nor was she provided with any regular and disciplined troops. SCIPIO, having ordered his fleet to Utica, encamped with his land-forces on certain eminences at a small distance from the coast. Thence he sent out a detachment of five hundred men to forage. These were attacked by a flying party under the command of Hanno, a young warrior,

warrior, who had been ordered to observe the enemy's motions. The Romans had all the advantage, and the young Carthaginian fell in the engagement. **SCIPIO**, looking upon this success as a good augury, immediately drew near to Locha, a city which seemed to promise his soldiers a rich booty. But he had no sooner planted his scaling ladders for the assault, than the inhabitants sent an herald to demand their lives, with liberty to retire. Upon this **SCIPIO** founded a retreat. But the greedy soldiers carried on the assault, scaled the walls, and entering the city, put all, even the women and Children, to the sword. But so barbarous an action, and so signal a disobedience, did not go unpunished. The centuions, who had encouraged the soldiers to carry on the attack, were ordered to draw lots which of them should die. Three of them were executed, and the guilty soldiers were deprived of the booty which they had taken.

AFTER this expedition, **Masiniſſa** came privately in the night to confer with **SCIPIO**. He had been deprived of his kingdom by **Syphax**, and restored to it by the mediation of the Carthaginians; who readily embraced that opportunity of obliging a prince, whose bravery and enterprizing genius gave them no small umbrage. However, **Syphax** detained **Masiniſſa's** mother, whom he had taken prisoner, as an hostage for the security of her son's fidelity.

Masiniſſa was ſenſible that the Carthaginians were not ſincere at the bottom ; and therefore he ſtill retained his former affection for Rome, tho', to comply with the times, he had joined Aſdrubal with a a ſtrong re-inforcement of horſe. In the private interview, which he had with SCIPIO, it was agreed, that the Numidian ſhould continue to deceive the credulous Carthaginians, 'till a favorable opportunity offered of breaking openly with them, and 'till he could free himſelf from the constraint that he was under by the captivity of his mother. In the mean time Aſdrubal, at the head of twenty thouſand foot, ſeven hundred horſe, with an hundred and forty elephants, drew near to Utica, which SCIPIO was preparing to inveſt. Maſiniſſa, who was one of the council of war on all occaſions, perſuaded Aſdrubal to detach his own ſon Hanno with a thouſand horſe, to watch the motions of the enemy, and attempt to enter Utica with that Reinforcement, promiſing to favour the enterprize with all his Numidian Cavalry. He then gave SCIPIO notice of the deſign, who ſurprized the detachment, and took Hanno priſoner. And now Maſiniſſa, not doubting but Aſdrubal would willingly exchange his mother for Hanno, joined the Romans with all his forces. This is the account of Appian, and is conſiſtent and probable ; tho' Livy tells the ſtory a little differently, and ſays that Hanno fell in the action.

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As for Syphax, when he saw that his rival had declared for the Romans, he endeavoured first to draw him off from the party which he had embraced ; but not succeeding therein, he attempted to bribe one of his servants to poison him. This treachery was discovered ; and then Syphax, who had hitherto taken upon himself the office of mediator between Rome and Carthage, and had encamped apart with his army, consisting of fifty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, kept no longer any measures with the Romans. He led his troops before Tholus, a place where the Romans had a magazine of corn, surprized it, and put the garrison to the sword. In the mean time, SCIPIO was so harrassed by the enemy, who surrounded him, that he was obliged to raise the siege of Utica, after he had continued it for forty days, and retire, as the winter approached, to a more commodious place. The post, which he made choice of, was a promontory, under which his fleet was anchored. There he fortified his camp, and waited for the return of Spring, to renew the war with vigour.

In the mean time cloaths, corn, and provisions of all sorts, were sent from Rome to SCIPIO's army, in spite of the peevish jealousy of old Fabius, who was ever inveighing against the Proconsul, and even moved in the senate to have him recalled. Yet SCIPIO at the next election was honored with

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a particular mark of distinction. For, while the other Proconsuls were nominated for a single year, he was continued Proconsul in Africa 'till the war should be ended.

THE whole winter was spent in fruitless negotiations between SCIPIO and Syphax, who had assumed anew the quality of mediator. Early in the Spring, the Proconsul sent a detachment to take possession of the old post, where he had encamped when he besieged Utica. Both the Romans and Africans imagined that his intention was to renew that enterprize. But his real design was, to attack the two camps of the enemy in the night. For Syphax was encamped with his army apart from the Carthaginians. This scheme he imparted to his troops the night before the attack. And the motion being approved of by all, tho' there were more men in each camp than the whole of the Roman army, SCIPIO divided his troops. He gave the command of one part to Masinissa, and of another to Lælius, ordering them to invest the camp of Syphax on different sides, and to set fire to their barracks, which were of wood, mats, hurdles, and such-like combustible materials. With respect to himself, he told Masinissa and Lælius, that he would watch the motions of Asdrubal's army, but suspend the attack of his intrenchments, 'till he received advice, that they had penetrated to the centre of the Numidian camp.

The

The whole scheme was happily executed ; the camp of Syphax first, and then that of Asdrubal, was surprized and burned. Many of the Carthaginians and Numidians were burnt alive in their beds. Some were suffocated with the smoak. Others ran to the gates, and were either stifled in the crowd, or massacred by the enemy. Men, beasts of burden, and elephants, all perished, either in the flames, or by the sword. Those, who leaped down from the top of the ramparts, to avoid perishing in the flames, were cut in pieces by parties of Roman troops, who had seized all the avenues to the two camps. The plain was all covered with dead bodies, and the two camps filled with heaps of ashes and bones. Forty thousand of the enemy, and eight elephants, perished either by fire or sword. Many noble Carthaginians were taken prisoners, with eleven senators, and six thousand soldiers. The Romans saved out of the flames one hundred and seventy-eight standards, six elephants, and about two thousand Numidian horses. SCIPIO did not lose an hundred men in this decisive action.

THE two African commanders, Asdrubal and Syphax found means to make their escape with two thousand foot and five hundred horse. The consternation of the people at Carthage was inexpressibly great, when they saw Asdrubal arrive there with the poor remains of his shattered army. The suffetes or
supreme

supreme magistrates immediately assembled the senators, who were divided in opinion; some being for the immediate recall of Hannibal, others for proposing a truce with the enemy. But the Barcine faction, which was for pursuing the war and continuing Hannibal in Italy, prevailed. Hanno, the son of Hamilcar, was appointed to command the troops in the room of Asdrubal, who was sentenced to die for his ill conduct. But the troops being for him, he avoided the execution of the sentence, and having assembled about eight thousand foot and three thousand horse, he endeavoured to serve his country without any commission from the Republic. Syphax, after his defeat, had retired to Abba, or Obba; where he was soon joined by Asdrubal and other troops. So that in a very short time they found themselves in a condition to appear in the field once more; having drawn together from several parts near thirty thousand men.

WITH this army they encamped in a place called the Great Plain, about five days' march from Utica, which SCIPIO had besieged anew. However, he was no sooner informed of their motions, than he turned the siege into a blockade, and made haste to attack them. After some light skirmishes, the two armies came to a general engagement, in which the Romans prevailed, and gained a complete victory. After this success, the Proconsul dispatched

Lalios

Lælius and Masinissa after Syphax, who, with the best part of his troops, hastened back into his own country. SCIPIO resolved to make himself, in the mean time, master of the towns in the neighbourhood of Carthage. With this view he marched to Tunis, from whence Carthage could be seen, and took it without the loss of a single man, the garrison having deserted it in a fright on his approach.

THE Carthaginians, in order to divert SCIPIO from laying siege to their capital, having with incredible expedition fitted out a fleet of an hundred gallies, sent it under the command of Hamilcar, the father of Hanno, to burn the Roman fleet, which lay under the promontory formerly mentioned. SCIPIO, perceiving from Tunis the course which the Carthaginians steered, made what haste he could to preserve his fleet; and reaching the port by land, before the enemy arrived there by sea, drew up his gallies as near the shore as he could, and repulsed the enemy, who nevertheless took six of his gallies. With this small prize Hamilcar returned to Carthage; and the Proconsul thought it advisable to continue where he was, 'till he could receive from Italy a reinforcement of ships. For his whole fleet consisted now but of fourteen gallies.

IN the mean time, Lælius and Masinissa, who, with the third part of the legions, were gone in
pursuit

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purſuit of Syphax, penetrated, after fifteen days' march into the heart of Numidia. Syphax, at the head of a very numerous army, advanced to meet them, but was vigorously repulſed in a general action which enſued, forced to fly, and purſued to the banks of a river, where Maſiniſſa himſelf took him priſoner, with his ſon Vermina. After this the victorious Numidian, with the approbation of Lælius, who was to follow him by ſlow marches, haſtened to appear before Cyrta, the capital of Syphax's dominions. As he had taken the captive king with him, the city, being deſtitute of all hopes of relief, readily ſurrendered. Maſiniſſa entered it in triumph, and haſtened to the palace, with full intention to puniſh Sophoniſba, for entering into engagements with his rival, after ſhe had been betrothed to him. But he was ſoon diſarmed. For he no ſooner entered the palace than the beautiful queen, ſet off with all the charms of dreſs, fell at his feet, and, embracing his knees, conjured him, in the moſt moving manner, not to deliver her up to the Romans, but rather to free her by death from the chains of an inſulting enemy. Her words made a deep impreſſion on Maſiniſſa. He looked tenderly on her, and feeling his former flame revive, he reached out his hand to her. This was a token that her requeſt was granted. But, as the fair captive properly belonged to SCIPIO, and Maſiniſſa, who was but a ſubaltern in the Roman army, had no right to make ſuch a promiſe, he was greatly perplexed

perplexed to know how to perform it. At length he determined to follow the dictates of his love, thinking that neither *SCIPIO* nor *Lælius* could lay any claim to her, after he had, by a lawful marriage, made her his own.

THE public rejoicings on this occasion were not over, when *Lælius* arrived. He was so shocked at this precipitate marriage, that he resolved at first to snatch the queen from the nuptial bed, and send her away with the other captives to *SCIPIO*. But, upon second thoughts, he resolved to refer the matter to the judgment of the Proconsul, and in the mean time let the prince enjoy his amours.

As for *Syphax*, he was sent under a strong guard to *SCIPIO*'s camp, where he was treated with great politeness and respect; the Proconsul remembering the hospitable entertainment, which this prince had formerly given him at his court. As *SCIPIO* frequently took pleasure in conversing with his royal captive, he learned of him, that if he had been left to his own judgment, he would have continued faithful to Rome; but that his wife *Sophonisba*, having by her irresistible charms made herself mistress of his heart, had induced him to prefer Carthage to Rome. Hereupon *SCIPIO*, fearing she might gain such an ascendant over her new husband, resolved to take her from him. It was not long before

fore Masinissa, having reduced all Numidia, arrived at the Proconsul's camp with his new queen. SCIPIO received him with all possible marks of distinction; but took no notice of Sophonisba, tho' she entered his tent together with Masinissa. From the Proconsul's tent she was conducted to Masinissa's quarters, and there respected as his wife. But SCIPIO by no means liking to see a Carthaginian woman with the title of queen in the midst of a Roman army, had a private conference with Masinissa a few days after his arrival. He complimented him in the first place on his heroic behaviour, and then, expostulating with him on his late conduct, exhorted him to conquer the love of pleasure, and not suffer himself to be enslaved by a woman, after having subdued a vast kingdom. At the same time he reminded him, that the spoils and captives taken from the enemy belonged not to him, but to the Romans. He concluded his speech thus, "I am very sensible, that your heart trembles at the thought of the sacrifice I require of you; but return, Masinissa, return to your reason. Hitherto your weakness deserves pity, but it may become unpardonable. Your perseverance in it may be attended with a long repentance." The Numidian prince blushed and wept. His heart was rent with opposite passions. But at length his interest gained the ascendant over his love. He promised the general to shake off his chains, and so far got the mastery over his passion,

as to carry in person to his beloved Sophonisba the decree, which SCIPIO had pronounced against her, declaring that she belonged to the Roman people. When he entered the tent, "Receive now, said he, "the last testimony of my affection and fidelity. It is "absolutely out of my power to deliver you from "the slavery with which you are threatened, any "other way than by death. Remember only, whose "daughter and whose queen you are, and then surely "you cannot be afraid to descend to the shades. "Masinissa will soon follow you thither." Tears flowed down the prince's cheeks, as he uttered these words ; and as soon as he had spoken them, he rushed out of the tent, where all things were prepared to give the unhappy queen the most speedy and easy death. A slave, whose business it was to prepare poison, entered the tent as soon as Masinissa went out, and presented to her the fatal cup. She took it with an air of great composure, and upbraided her weeping nurse for dishonouring her death with her tears. Then turning to the slave, "Let my husband," said she, "know that I die contented, since I die by his "orders. Assure him that I was forced, contrary to "my inclinations, to enter into engagements with "another. My heart has been enslaved to none but "him ; and as for my body, I readily abandon it "to the fury of the Romans." Having thus spoken, she drank the poison, and almost instantly expired.

SCIPIO, to console the Numidian prince, cared and diverted him. And, when he had assembled his troops, stiled him King for the first time in a juridical way, and presented him with a crown of gold, a curule chair, an embroidered robe, and a Tunic adorned with Palm-branches. These honors counter-balanced, in the prince's heart, the remembrance of his dear Sophonisba ; and he now conceived hopes of becoming master of all Numidia.

AND now that the winter kept both armies from entering upon action, SCIPIO dispatched Lælius with Syphax, and the rest of the captives, to Rome, and returned himself to his old post near Tunis. The Carthaginians, alarmed at his neighbourhood, endeavoured to gain time by a fraudulent treaty of peace, 'till Hannibal and Mago should arrive from Italy. The better to impose upon the Proconsul, they sent deputies to Rome, and with them a small number of Roman captives and deserters ; but at the same time they prepared to renew the war with vigour, strengthened themselves with alliances on all sides, and once more prevailed upon Philip of Macedon to engage in their interest. While SCIPIO, deceived by the fraudulent proposals of the Carthaginians, was suspending hostilities in Africa, Lælius, arriving at Rome, gave the conscript fathers a pompous, but true, account of his friend's exploits. This occasioned an universal joy in the city. The

Prætor

Prætor published a decree for a general supplication, and the people crowded to the temples to return thanks for the Proconsul's success. Syphax, by order of the senate was conducted to Alba, in the country of the Marfi, and there kept to grace the triumph of the Roman general at his return. At the same time the senate confirmed the title, which SCIPIO had given to Masinissa, and sent him new presents in the name of the Republic.

SCIPIO had granted the Carthaginians in Africa a truce 'till their ambassadors returned from Rome. But in the mean time, an accident discovered the insincerity of their intentions. SCIPIO had sent for a reinforcement of ships both from Sicily and Sardinia. The squadron from Sicily was dispersed by a tempest, and many of the ships being driven near the port of Carthage, the Carthaginians seized and plundered them. Hereupon the Proconsul sent Marcus Bebius, with two other deputies, to Carthage, to complain of the injustice and require satisfaction. But the senate, depending on the return of Hannibal; agreed to send them back without an answer. Nay, the vessel which carried the envoys, was attacked by the Carthaginian admiral, and, after some resistance, forced to run a-ground near the shore, where most of the Romans were killed: but the ambassadors themselves had the good fortune to escape. This perfidy was too plain a

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proof, that the war would be renewed with fresh vigour, as soon as Hannibal arrived. Nor was it long before that general, so much wished-for, came within sight of Africa, which he had left at nine years of age, and had not seen for thirty-three years past. He landed at Little Leptis, a city between Susa, and Adrumetum. About the same time Lælius and Fulvius returned from Rome, the latter to continue in his post of Lieutenant in SCIPIO's army, and the former in quality of questor as well as lieutenant.

AND now the eyes of all the nations in Europe and Africa were fixed on the two heroes of the age, SCIPIO and Hannibal, who were to enter the lists. The latter, being informed that hostilities were begun anew, gained over as many of the princes of Numidia, as he could, and among the rest the second son of Syphax, who joined him with a considerable body of Numidian horse. On the other hand, SCIPIO pursued the war with all the fury, which the perfidy of the Carthaginians deserved. He took several towns by assault, put the garrisons to the sword, and made the inhabitants pass under the yoke. However, he dismissed the Carthaginian ambassadors, who had been arrested by Bebius, on their return from Rome, after having treated them with great humanity and politeness; tho' most of the officers were for retaliating upon them the injuries, which their own ambassadors had suffered.

As

As SCIPIO continued ravaging the territories of Carthage and taking her cities, Hannibal was ordered to advance towards him, and stop his progress. Accordingly, he left Adrumetum, marched an hundred and seventy-five miles, and encamped near Zama, a town in Africa Propria, about seventy-five miles from Carthage. From his new camp he sent out spies to observe the situation and strength of the enemy. These spies, being discovered and apprehended; were by SCIPIO's order led into all the quarters of the camp, and after they had been shewn every thing which they came to learn, dismissed with money to defray the expences of the journey. Hannibal was so struck with admiration at the magnanimity and confidence of the Roman general, that he immediately resolved to ask an interview with him, in order to a peace. With this view he addressed himself to Masinissa, begging him to intercede with the Proconsul, and persuade him to come to an interview. Masinissa discharged his commission with zeal. But the people, having got the ascendant at Carthage, would hearken to no measures, which tended to a reconciliation. Nay; orders were dispatched to Hannibal, to continue the war, and come to a decisive battle without delay. But, notwithstanding these orders, which had been extorted from the senate by the people, Hannibal, having obtained the Proconsul's consent, drew near for an interview, and encamped with his army about

five miles from the Romans. There was between the two camps a large plain, entirely open, and where no ambush could be laid. Thither the two generals repaired, escorted by a like number of guards, and then separating from their attendants, each with his interpreter, they held a private conference. Perhaps two greater men never met, nor was ever any deliberation of more importance. These two heroes had never seen one another; but fame had given each an high esteem of his opponent. Hannibal is said to have been struck with admiration at the first sight of SCIPIO. His hair flowed down his back to a great length. He had an equal mixture of majesty and sweetness in his countenance. He was in his full strength and bloom, and deemed one of the most comely men of the age. There was nothing affected or too negligent about him. His habit was plain, but neat, and such as became a soldier, who despised the studied elegances of dress. Their surprize at meeting kept them for some moments in a profound silence, which Hannibal first broke with a long descant on the vicissitudes of fortune; and then, having artfully flattered the Roman, he proposed the cession of Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and of all the islands between Italy and Africa, as the terms of a peace. SCIPIO answered with all the haughtiness of a conqueror, that he offered nothing, but what the Romans already possessed; that if he had made such a proposal before he left Italy, it might per-
haps

haps have been thought a tolerable one; but now his republic would insist upon conditions of a different nature, which he proposed, adding, "If you like these conditions the Roman senate and people will condescend to enter into a treaty with your republic; if not, let us fly to arms, and decide the controversy by the sword." At these words the two generals parted, and each returned to his camp, to prepare for a general action.

EARLY the next morning SCIPIO marched out his troops into the plain, and sent a detachment to seize an eminence between the two camps. These meeting with a detachment sent by Hannibal for the same purpose, repulsed them, and made themselves masters of that post. This brought on a general action, contrary (as some say) to the inclination of Hannibal. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we consider the generals, the armies, the two states that contended, or the importance of the victory. Both commanders displayed an uncommon skill in drawing up their men, and choosing their ground, and no less courage and resolution in charging the enemy. They both represented to their men, that this battle must decide, whether Rome or Carthage should give law to the world. Never was victory more obstinately disputed. The Carthaginians, especially in the second line, performed wonders, repulsing three times the Roman Legionaries with great slaughter

slaughter. As for Hannibal's first line, which consisted of mercenaries, it was put to the rout at the first onset, which at length occasioned the defeat of the second line. For the Romans, pushing on the routed mercenaries with their bucklers, forced them back on the Carthaginians, and by that means put the second line into confusion, and at last obliged them to give ground, and betake themselves to flight. But the greatest difficulty was, to break into the enemy's phalanx, where Hannibal commanded in person.

THE phalanx was the choice of Hannibal's army; the Carthaginian general having formed it of those veterans, who had often made the Romans tremble in the plains of Italy. However, SCIPIO advanced boldly at the head of his *Hastati*, or spearmen, to attack this formidable body. But the ground which he was to cross, in order to come at the phalanx, was covered with dead bodies, bucklers and darts, and the earth soaked with blood, and so slippery, that his men could hardly keep their feet. He therefore ordered the *Principes* and *Triarii* to join them; and having drawn up all his men in one great front, marched over heaps of dead bodies against Hannibal, who at the head of his phalanx kept his men close, and waited for him. The Romans fell upon this last body with a fury not to be expressed; but the Carthaginians, encouraged by the presence and
example

example of their leader, kept their ground, in spite of the utmost efforts of the whole Roman infantry. SCIPIO, resolving either to compleat the victory, or perish in the attempt, at the head of the legionaries exerted all his skill and personal bravery; but could not by any means break into that impenetrable body. The attack was often renewed, but to no purpose. The ground was covered with heaps of dead bodies; but not one of the Carthaginians offered to fly, or even quit his rank. The Proconsul, finding all his efforts unsuccessful, was at a loss what to do. But while he was under the deepest concern to see his brave legionaries fall in great numbers, without being able to gain the least advantage over the enemy, Lælius and Masinissa, returning from the pursuit of the Carthaginian and Numidian cavalry, appeared very seasonably on the field of battle, and attacked the phalanx in the rear. And now Hannibal could hold out no longer. His phalanx was put in disorder, and so terrible a slaughter made of those brave men, that few of them escaped. Hannibal, after having signalized himself by a thousand acts of valour, was at length obliged to save himself by flight. Masinissa, tho' wounded, pursued him close, being very desirous to crown his other exploits with the capture of the general himself. But the Carthaginian, favoured by the darkness of the night, got safe into Thon, a small city in that neighbourhood, attended only by twenty horsemen.

Thence

Thence he fled, with one man only, in whom he could confide, and taking the road to Adrumetum, reached that city in two days and two nights. In this action, about twenty thousand men were slain on the side of the Carthaginians, and as many prisoners taken, among whom were many Macedonians, with Sosipater their commander. The Romans did not lose above two thousand men: a memorable victory! which raised Scipio above Hannibal, and paved the way for the Romans to the conquest of the world.

HANNIBAL was soon called from Adrumetum to Carthage, where he declared in the senate, that they had no resource but in a peace. These words, from the mouth of the warlike Hannibal, were decisive; and Carthage now thought sincerely of using all means to soften the Roman general, whose humane temper was well known. Thirty of the chief nobility were dispatched away to Tunis, where Scipio then was. These deputies spared neither submissions, protestations, nor promises. Scipio received them at first with the haughty air of a conqueror, and seemed not to give ear to their proposals. Yet at the bottom, he was as desirous of concluding a peace, as they were. For he had certain intelligence from his friends at Rome, that the consul Nero was fitting out a fleet with all expedition, in order to pass into Africa, and rob him of the
glory

glory of finishing the war there. The next day therefore he sent for the deputies, whom he had rejected the day before, and imparted to them the conditions, on which he was willing to grant them a peace. / They were to quit for ever their pretensions to Spain and all the islands in the Mediterranean; to deliver up all deserters, fugitive slaves, and all the Italians, who had followed Hannibal, all their ships of war, except ten, and all their elephants; were to enter into no war, without consent of the Romans; to restore the ships and effects taken during the late truce; to pay ten thousand talents in fifty years; to supply the Roman legions with corn, and to pay their auxiliaries, 'till the return of their ambassadors from Rome; and to deliver up an hundred hostages for the performance of the several articles. These hard conditions were readily complied with, Hannibal himself declaring zealously for a peace. Pursuant to his advice, deputies were sent to SCIPIO's camp, to make satisfaction for the ships and effects taken from the Romans during the truce; and the whole sum amounted to twenty-five thousand pounds weight of silver.

THE conditions were ratified at Rome, and then the Carthaginians began to execute the articles. They delivered up all deserters, prisoners, and elephants, with five hundred sail of ships, gallies, and frigates, which SCIPIO burned at sea, within sight of Carthage:

thage: they discharged the first payment of the tribute; and SCIPIO prepared for his departure.

BUT before he left Africa, he settled Masinissa in the peaceable possession of his hereditary dominions, and of all the places, which he had taken from Syphax. This done, he sailed to Lilybæum, and thence to Italy. On the news of his landing, the people flocked from all parts to see the deliverer of Rome, and the conqueror of the formidable Hannibal. From the port where he landed to Rome, the roads were crowded with infinite numbers; not only the citizens, but even the peasants running to behold and applaud the man, to whom they owed their liberty and preservation.

As he drew near to Rome, the whole city went out to meet him; and such of the citizens and senators, as had at first opposed his expedition were the most earnest to congratulate him on the success of it. He wanted only to have received the congratulations of the great Fabius; but he was dead. However, the conqueror had the satisfaction to find that the predictions of this old general had proved false, and served only to augment his glory. Both senate and people concurred in decreeing him a triumph, which was the most magnificent that had ever been seen in Rome. Polybius says, that Syphax adorned his triumph, and died a few days after;

But

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but others affirm that he died before it. Among the captives was the famous poet Terence, at that time very young. The senator Terentius Culco, who had been taken by the Carthaginians, and delivered by SCIPIO from a cruel captivity, to shew his gratitude, wore in the triumphal procession, the Pileus, or cap of Liberty, as a Symbol of his having obtained his freedom. The booty which SCIPIO brought from Africa, was immense. Among other things he delivered to the quaestors one hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver. The republic, to shew her gratitude to a man who had done her more important services than all the other commanders together; would have raised him above the level of other citizens, by bestowing on him, as some authors write, the perpetual dictatorship, and erecting statues to him in the public places of the city. But SCIPIO wisely declined those extraordinary honors, contenting himself with the glorious name of AFRICANUS, which history has preserved to him, as a lasting monument of his conquests in Africa.

Six years after, he was raised a second time to the consulship, having for his colleague Tiberius Sempronius Longus. Notwithstanding which, the Romans were gradually forgetting their obligations to the great SCIPIO. For it was but the second year after, that his cousin german Scipio Nasica and his constant friend and companion Lælius applied for

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the same honor, yet lost it; tho' supported by all the interest of AFRICANUS. He had indeed somewhat disoblged the commons, by the invidious distinction, which he had procured for the senators the year before, of sitting in the Orchestra at the scenic shews, apart from other spectators.

BUT in the year of the city 563, Lælius and Lucius Scipio, the brother of our hero, were consuls together. The former of these had the reputation of being the abler commander. He therefore artfully proposed to his colleague, that instead of drawing lots for their respective provinces, they should leave the matter to the decision of the senate. SCIPIO AFRICANUS advised his brother to accept of the proposal; and when the affair was laid before the senate, he offered to serve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no other argument. The conscript fathers immediately assigned Asia to the two SCIPIO's, as their common province. Thus the great AFRICANUS shewed more regard to the honor of his family, than partial affection to his friend. It would have cast a blemish on his brother, if he had not been judged fit to command the army against Antiochus, who was now at war with the Romans, and it was the conduct of this war, which Lælius affected. The two brothers immediately embarked at Brundisium with thirteen thousand men, and landed at Apollonia. Thence they march-
ed

ed through Epirus and Theſſaly to Amphiffa, where they granted the *Ætolians* a fix-months' truce, and purſued their march through Macedon and Thrace to the Hellespont. When they arrived at the Cherſoneſus, *AFRICANUS* received advice of his ſon's being taken priſoner by the Syrians, an accident which gave him great uneaſineſs. He had brought him into Greece, to form him to the military profeſſion, and had ſent in a Chalcidian ſhip to Demetrius, being unwilling to expoſe him to any hazards in Aſia. But in his paſſage, the ſhip which carried him, being attacked and taken by a Syrian galley, the young Roman was brought to Antiochus, who treated him with all the marks of honor that were due to his birth, and the reputation of his father.

THE *SCIPIO*'s continued their march and took poſſeſſion of Lyſimachia, which Antiochus had unaccountably evacuated. Finding no enemies at the Hellespont to diſpute their paſſage, they croſſed over in good order, and ſpent ſome time at Troy. Antiochus, now that the Romans were in Aſia, made propoſals of peace, and paid his court to *AFRICANUS* particularly, letting him know by his ambaffador, that he was not only ready to reſtore his ſon without ranſom, but to ſhare all his treaſures with him, and even to place him on the ſame throne. Africanus returned a friendly answer; but his propoſals were rejected. He therefore made all the neceſſary preparations

for preventing their further progress. The Roman forces were encamped in the neighbourhood of Elœa, when Africanus was attacked by a dangerous illness. Antiochus no sooner heard of it, than he sent his son to him without ransom. A most noble instance of generosity in a provoked enemy! He was received with inexpressible joy, and the father, after having embraced him a thousand times, charged the Syrian who brought him, to return his most hearty thanks to Antiochus and tell him, that he could no otherwise shew his gratitude at present, but by giving him one piece of advice, which was, by no means to hazard a battle, 'till he was recovered and returned to the camp. His intention undoubtedly was, in case of a misfortune, to do him service. The transports of joy, which AFRICANUS felt on this occasion, gave a turn to his distemper, and quite cured him. But before he was in a condition to return to the camp, his brother appointed another lieutenant in his room, and marched against Antiochus, whom he totally defeated in the battle of Magnesia. The Syrian monarch then sued again for peace, which was granted on more favorable conditions than he could have well expected, chiefly through the means of AFRICANUS.

AND now Rome being disengaged from all foreign wars, the most zealous republicans took pleasure in prosecuting the chief men in the state. They thought

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it perhaps a refined policy to humble those in times of peace, whom they had exalted in times of war. Cato, who had always been a secret enemy to SCIPIO AFRICANUS, no sooner saw the republic in a condition to do without him, than he resolved to destroy him. With this view he engaged two tribunes of the people, both of the name of Petilius to cite him before the tribes, to answer to a charge of misdemeanour. One of the tribunes made it matter of accusation against him, that he had spent a whole winter in effeminacy and pleasures at Syracuse, before he went into Africa. The other charged him with the pillage of Locri, and many violences committed in that city by Pleminius, whom he had appointed governor of the place. But the grand accusation was, that he had received great sums from Antiochus, to procure him an advantageous peace. The number of accusers was so great, that the whole day was spent in their speeches; so that the trial was postponed to the twenty-seventh day after. In the mean time, the tribunes moved in the senate, that SCIPIO should be obliged to give an account of the spoils that he had brought from Asia, and produce the book in which he had set down the sums received from Antiochus; and the senate complied with the motion. When the time came for determining the affair, it happened to be the same day of the year on which he had obtained the famous victory over Hannibal at Zama. SCIPIO brought his book

of accompts with him, and having only shewed it to the people, he tore it in pieces before them, saying, " On this day Hannibal was conquered, and Carthage subdued : why then do we trifle it away in hearing idle declamations? The Gods expect us at the capitol : follow me, Romans ; let us go thither, and jointly offer up our vows and thanksgivings." He had scarce uttered these words, when the tribes began to move, and the whole assembly followed him. Even the officers, whose business it was to attend the tribunes, deserted them. This was a glorious triumph for the accused.

HOWEVER, he was cited to appear a third time ; and then he gave way to the storm, retiring to his country-house in the neighbourhood of Naples. The tribunes proceeded in order to condemn him, as by default ; tho' Lucius Scipio appeared, and alledged that his brother was sick. This fury against so venerable a man, raised even the compassion of his enemies. A tribune of the people, named Tiberius Gracchus, tho' an avowed enemy to the Cornelian family, declared, to the great surprize of all, that he thought Scipio Asiaticus (for he gained this surname for his success against Antiochus) ought to be believed concerning the sickness of his brother ; and then went on thus : " If SCIPIO were at Rome, I would oppose his appearing to take his trial. What ! Shall the conqueror of Carthage appear at
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“the foot of our tribunal, to be reviled there by
 “an insolent populace? Did he conquer Hannibal
 “and Antiochus, to fall a sacrifice to the two Pe-
 “tiliuses? Shall we pretend to triumph over a man
 “who has been honoured with so many triumphs of
 “the noblest kind? Let him at least find a safe re-
 “treat for his old age in the port to which he is
 “retired for refuge.” This unexpected declaration,
 from an old enemy of the SCIPIO’s, had such an
 effect on the rest of the tribunes, that they dismissed
 the tribes, telling them, that they would consider
 more maturely of the business. Whether SCIPIO’s
 sickness was feigned or real, we cannot determine:
 but it is certain that he died soon after, in the forty-
 eighth year of his age. He is said to have been so
 dissatisfied with the cowardice of the senate, the ini-
 quity of the people, and the ingratitude of both, that,
 at his death, he desired his wife Æmelia, the daugh-
 ter of Æmeilius Paulus, who died gloriously at the
 battle of Cannæ, not to carry his bones to Rome.
 She erected a Mausoleum for him at Liternum, where
 his seat was, and where he died, and there placed
 his statue, with that of the poet Ennius, who was
 probably his faithful friend, and the companion of
 his retreat. Such was the end of the greatest com-
 mander, and the most accomplished citizen, which
 the Roman republic had ever produced.



C H A P. III.

O F M A R I A M N E .

THE Heroine before us was the wonder and delight of all who knew her ; but unhappily one of those, whose virtue was chiefly exercised in calamity, and shone most conspicuous in distress. But true fortitude is more distinguished in suffering than in action. It is only to be lamented that those very charms and perfections, which were engaging and endearing to excess, should have proved the cause of those cruel injunctions, which brought on so many infelicities and an untimely death.

MARIAMNE was the daughter of Alexander the son of Aristobulus sometime king and high-priest of the Jews, and of Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcan, who was the elder brother of the same Aristobulus, and also king and high-priest. So that she was, both by father and mother, of the Asmonean family, which had reigned over the Jewish nation, from the time that Judas Maccabeus had taken the government upon him, an hundred and twenty nine years. Her education was in all respects suitable to the dignity of her birth, and, as she grew up, her personal beauty such, as had no equal
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in the age which she adorned. She was married to Herod, the son of Antipater, in the forty-second year before the birth of CHRIST. But, as the state of Judea was much troubled at this time, the nuptials were not publicly celebrated 'till some few years after. Her husband, an Idumæan by birth, was now the favorite of Hyrcan, but much disliked by the Jews on account of his extraction. On the arrival of Mark Antony in Syria, to settle the affairs of that province; they preferred a severe accusation against him and his brother Phasael, as having engrossed all the power and administration of Judea, and left Hyrcan only the bare name of prince. But Herod, who was then paying his court to Antony, had so much interest with him, that neither now, nor at any time after, would he listen to their complaints.

Soon after Antigonus, the uncle of MARIAMNE, invaded Judea, under the protection of a Parthian army. This occasioned much bloodshed, in the course of which a pretended agreement being mediated by the Parthian commander, Phasael was betrayed, and lost his life by his own credulity. But Herod, who justly suspected the treachery of the Parthians, found means to convey himself away together with his mother, his beloved MARIAMNE, her mother Alexandra; and his brother Pheroras, with all his friends, servants and valuable things, and a numerous escort of his own men of war. With these

these he fought his way into Idumea, through the Parthians and Antigonians, who pursued him. When he arrived at Massada, the place where he intended to retire, it being a very strong and almost impregnable fortress, he found it too small to contain all his men; so that he was forced to dismiss nine thousand of them. Here he left his family and treasure under the care of his brother Joseph, and a garrison of eight hundred men; and having furnished it with all necessaries, he went into Arabia and Egypt; and thence set sail for Rome. When he came there, he addressed himself first to Antony, and then to Octavian; to whom he related all that had happened in Judea, and the desperate condition of his affairs; and partly by his entreaties, and the commemoration of his father's friendship to Julius Cæsar, and partly by the promise of a large sum, so worked upon them, that they resolved to assist him to the utmost of their power. Antony, on the score of the old kindnesses of Antipater, performed more than Herod expected, or even desired of him. The highest of his aim was, to have had Aristobulus, the brother of his beloved MARIAMNE, settled on the throne, and himself to have been at the head of the Jewish affairs under him, as his father had been under Hyrcan. Whereas, the Triumvirs actually resolved to procure him the crown; tho' this was contrary to the Roman method, who usually paid a due regard to the royal line of their dependent kings.

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By their influence, he was chosen by the senate, and Antigonus voted an enemy to them. Thus Herod was made king of Judea, in the consulship of Cneius Domitius Calvinus, and Asinius Pollio. The condition in which he had left his affairs in Judea, and his family in Idumea, not permitting him to stay longer than seven days after his inauguration, he set out for Brundisium, and sailed thence to Ptolemais, where he landed about the latter end of the summer. So that he spent but three months in this expedition, both by sea and land.

WHILE he was thus successful at Rome, his MARIAMNE, now queen of Judea, was closely besieged by Antigonus in the fortress of Massada, which, tho' it was well provided with all other necessities, yet was greatly distressed for want of water: insomuch that her brother-in-law, Joseph, who commanded there, was contriving means to make a desperate sally and break through the besiegers: But, happily for him, on the very night that he intended to put this in execution, there fell such a heavy rain, as filled all their cisterns again. He now therefore thought of nothing, but how to make a brave defence, 'till his brother should come and relieve him, while he still made some bold sallies, and killed not a few of the besiegers.

HEROD,

HEROD, on the other hand, was not idle. His thoughts were wholly bent upon relieving his distressed family, but especially his beloved MARIAMNE; a princess, who was indeed very well worth all his care and concern; whether we consider her as descended from a long series of illustrious kings and high-priests, or a person of exalted virtue and merit, and adorned with the most endearing charms of body and mind. As soon therefore as he was arrived at Ptolomais, he got an army together of Jewish and other troops, which his generosity still augmented as fast as he went; insomuch that a very little time had brought almost the whole province of Galilee into his interest. At the same time Ventidius had orders from Antony to assist him with all his forces. So that he was now strong enough to march against Antigonus, and to relieve Massada. He stopped however to lay siege to Joppa, a place of too great importance to be left behind in the hands of the enemy. But as this surrendered soon after, he marched to the relief of his besieged friends, and in spite of the many ambushes which Antigonus laid in his way, reached Massada, forced the enemy to raise the siege, and was joyfully received by all his family, whom he removed to Samaria, as to a place of more security, while the war should continue. Some time after, he gained a complete victory over Antigonus, and had thoughts of attempting Jerusalem. But winter coming on, and the soldiers not being able to bear
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the fatigues of a siege, he put them into winter-quarters; and set about getting ready all things necessary for beginning it early in the following spring.

WHILE these preparations were making, Herod went to Samaria, and there publicly celebrated his marriage with MARIAMNE, whom he had betrothed four years before: but had been hindered from making any public celebration of his nuptials, by the troubles which surrounded him ever since. He had great reason to hope that this marriage would effectually reconcile the Jewish nation to him, whom he knew to retain an affectionate zeal for the Asmonean family. And this, he judged, would likewise facilitate the surrender of Jerusalem, by withdrawing numbers of the besieged Jews from the party of Antigonus.

By this time he had procured a re-inforcement of thirty thousand men. And Sosius, the Roman, who had been sent to his assistance at the head of eleven legions and six thousand horse, besides some auxiliary troops hired from Syria, was marching through Phœnice to join him. With this numerous army they besieged and stormed Jerusalem at the end of six months. This concluded the reign of the Asmoneans. For Antigonus, the last male of that race that bore the regal title, surrendered himself to Sosius, who sent him to Antony, by whom he was

put to a shameful death, at the earnest solicitations of Herod.

BUT he had still another rival left, and that was the late king Hyrcan, the grand-father of MARIAMNE, whom the Parthians had carried off with them to Babylon. There he might have thought himself happy, being highly respected by the Parthian monarch, and by all the Jews of the dispersion, who considered him as their rightful king, and high-priest. But by the earnest desire and pressing invitations of Herod he was at length persuaded to leave his safe asylum and return to Jerusalem. He was at first received with great friendship and magnificence. Nothing was forgotten, which might tend to conceal the treacherous design, which was hatching against his life. But at last, under the pretence of a plot, he was beheaded in the eightieth year of his age.

BUT while these things were yet in agitation, Herod was not a little disturbed with domestic jars. Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcan and the mother of Aristobulus and MARIAMNE, a woman of an haughty spirit, could not bear to see an obscure Babylonish priest preferred before her son to the pontifical dignity. For such was Ananél, whom Herod had raised to that high office. And Hyrcan had been rendered incapable of it by Antigonus, when
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he fell into the hands of the Parthians, by having his ears cut off. She was ever expostulating with him the injury done to her son, and insisting, that the pontifical dignity belonging in right of succession to him alone, as being descended by father and mother from Alexander Jannæus, none but he ought in justice to be invested with it. But Herod, who was conscious that the young prince had an equal right likewise to the regal dignity, was afraid to grant her the one, lest she should find some means in time of seizing on the other. This induced her to write to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, not doubting but her interest with Antony might greatly influence him in favor of her son. It was impossible for her to carry on that correspondence so closely, but Herod had some intimation of it; who fearing the worst from those two intriguing princesses, was forced for the present, notwithstanding the irregularity of it, to consent to the deposition of Ananel, and the investiture of Aristobulus with that dignity; pretending that he had only given it to the former, 'till the latter was arrived at a suitable age for it.

THIS condescension of Herod, backed with so plausible an excuse, wrought a kind of reconciliation between them; but which was nothing less than insincere on either side, especially on Herod's. He still suspected the intrigues of the mother, and feared the merit of the son, whose high birth and blooming

virtues, joined to a graceful person, attracted the eyes and hearts of the Jewish nation. Therefore, upon some pretence or other, he quarrelled with Alexandra, forbade her to meddle with any public affairs, and at last caused her to be confined to her palace, and narrowly watched. In the mean time, Cleopatra having sent her and her son an invitation to come to her, she was easily persuaded to accept it; since she could now only look upon herself as Herod's prisoner, from whose jealousy she had every thing to fear. The difficulty was, how to conceal their flight from his watchful spies. She entrusted her design only to two faithful servants, one of whom was to procure her a ship to carry them off, and the other to provide two coffins, the one for her son, and the other for herself, to convey them in that manner to the ship. But unfortunately, one of the two servants inadvertently mentioned the matter to a third, whom he thought to have been in the secret. This last immediately took hold of the opportunity to ingratiate himself with Herod, and made a full discovery of the design. The king stayed only 'till the mother and son were conveyed some part of the way in their coffins, and then caused them to be arrested and brought back. His fear however, of Cleopatra's resentment, prevented his expressing his own against them. And since he found it unsafe to punish them, he put on the masque of clemency, and was outwardly reconciled to them; but

but from that moment was resolved to get rid of the young prince.

AN accident happened soon after, which determined him to hasten his death. The feast of tabernacles, one of the three grand festivals, was come, and it was usually solemnized with the greatest magnificence. The new high-priest, who was then about seventeen years of age, appeared at the altar in his pontifical ornaments, and officiated with such majesty and grace, that the people thought they beheld all the merit and grandeur of his ancestors revived in him. They could not forbear filling the temple and city with his praises, which raised the tyrant's jealousy to such an height, as made him resolve to put his murdering design in execution with the utmost speed. Accordingly, as soon as the solemnity was over, he went with him to Jericho, where Alexandra had invited them to a sumptuous entertainment. The weather being hot, Aristobulus was invited to bathe in a fine fish pond in that neighbourhood, where some of Herod's hired creatures were swimming; and where as soon as they had him in their hands, they kept him still under water 'till he was dead. This bloody deed was glossed over with the specious pretence of its being done in sport, by accident, and without any design on the pontiff's life. Herod not only seemed to believe it, but took all the pains he could to have it thought so by the rest, by

putting himself into the deepest mourning for him, ordering a stately monument to be erected to his memory, and his funeral obsequies to be performed with the utmost magnificence. This was the end of young Aristobulus, which filled the city and kingdom with inexpressible grief. He died in the eighteenth year of his age, having scarce enjoyed his dignity one whole year, which, upon his death returned to Ananel,

ALL these grimaces of Herod, to disculpate himself of the murder, were easily seen through by the people, and only rendered him more odious to them, and much more to his own family. MARIAMNE indeed, as not thoroughly convinced of her husband's guilt, tho' deeply affected with the untimely death of her brother, discreetly covered what she could not remedy. But Alexandra, at the first news of the loss of her son, could scarcely be kept from laying violent hands upon herself. But upon cooler thoughts, she determined to conceal her resentment against the tyrant, that she might the more easily compass his ruin. She wrote to acquaint Cleopatra with his treachery, and that princess, moved rather by her ambition and avarice, than by a sense of pity or horror for the crime, ceased not to solicit Antony to punish the murderer, in hopes that after his death, she might easily obtain his kingdom for herself. Antony being at length prevailed upon, sent orders

orders to Herod to come and clear himself before him at Laodicea, whither he was then going, and Cleopatra along with him. Herod was obliged to obey, tho' much against his will; but took care to bribe his judge so high, that on his appearing before him, he was most basely acquitted, and Cleopatra's avarice compensated with the province of Cœlosyria, instead of Judea. But before he went, he left such bloody orders about his dear MARIAMNE, as proved the source of endless troubles to him and his family. For he left an express charge with his uncle Joseph, whom he appointed governor during his absence, that in case he was cast for his life, he should not fail to put her to death. The violence of his passion for that princess extorted this inhuman command from him. He knew that the fame of her beauty had long since captivated the Roman Triumvir, and the thought of leaving her in the possession of such a rival, even after his death, was more dreadful to him, than any death that could be inflicted. And his uncle was forced to rid him of that anguish by the promise of a punctual compliance.

WHEN he was gone, Joseph, who waited upon her daily, either on affairs of state, or to pay his devoirs, took all opportunities of extolling Herod's extreme passion for her, and being naturally communicative, was at length indiscreet enough to disclose

close the fatal order, with which he had been charged, as an irrefragable proof of the greatness and sincerity of it. The queen received the account of this shocking proof of love with much surprise and perturbation, and looking upon it rather as an argument of the king's jealousy and inhumanity, conceived from that moment an invincible aversion to him.

IN the mean time, there was a rumour spread through the city, whether by Herod's enemies, or by some of his subtle agents, that Antony had put him to a cruel death. This cast the whole court, but especially Alexandra and MARIAMNE, into a great consternation. The first had by this time been informed of the cruel orders left with Joseph; to prevent the execution of which, she went to him, and strove with all her eloquence to persuade him to leave Jerusalem, and to put themselves under the protection of the Roman eagles, that were planted in the neighbourhood of the city. But their deliberations were quickly broken off by letters from Herod himself, which informed her, that he had not only gained his cause, but that Antony was daily heaping fresh marks of his affection upon him; and that he should soon return to Jerusalem, more strengthened than ever in his kingdom.

THIS news made them lay aside their designs, but as they had not carried it on so closely, but Salome, Herod's sister, had received some intimation of it, she failed not inform her brother of it presently after his arrival. Some injurious reflections, which MARIAMNE had unwittingly cast upon the meanness of her birth, had so far exasperated her, that she vowed a most dreadful revenge. And she did not fail to take this opportunity of completing it, by accusing her of having held too great a familiarity with Joseph, during his absence.

MARIAMNE easily cleared her innocence upon her first interview with the king. But while he was entertaining her with protestations of his great love, she could not forbear at length, as he dwelt upon the subject, to mention the orders, which he had left with his uncle, as rather a token of his barbarity to her. These words stabbed the jealous monarch to the heart; and he concluded that nothing less than the criminal conversation, of which Salome had accused her, could have induced his uncle to disclose the fatal secret. In the first fally of his impetuous rage, he was on the point of sacrificing her with his own hand, had not his love prevailed over his resentment. But Joseph and Alexandra were the unhappy victims of his fury. The first he caused immediately to be put to death; refusing even to see him, or to hear what could be urged in his defence. The latter

he ordered into chains, and confined her to a close prison under a strong guard, as the main cause of all this mischief.

THE defeat of his friend and protector Antony at the battle of Actium, which followed some time after, gave him infinite disquiet. He had ever assisted that Triumvir with his wealth and power, and had by him been chiefly upheld in his throne. He had reason therefore to fear how the victorious Augustus might dispose of him. However, it was at all adventure necessary for him to wait upon the conqueror; and his first care, before he departed, was to secure his family the best he could, in case he should miscarry in his address. To that end he committed his mother Cyprus, and his Sister Salome, to the care of his brother Pheroras, whom he sent into the castle of Alexandrion, with orders to the latter to seize on the Jewish crown, and defend it to the last if he should be advised that it went ill with him. As for his wife MARIAMNE and her mother Alexandra, he sent them into the strong fortress of Masfada, and put them under the care of his treasurer, named Joseph, and of Sohemus, one of his chief confidants, with positive orders, to put those two princesses to death, as soon as he received the news of his ill success at the emperor's court, and then to go and assist his brother with all his power.

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He embarked soon after for Rhodes, where Augustus then was. Having obtained an audience from him, he appeared before that prince in all his royal ornaments, except his diadem; and spoke to him with such seeming confidence, as if he was sure before-hand to obtain what he came for. He made no difficulty to own his former attachment to Antony's interest, his assisting him with men, arms, money, and other necessities for the war; and even the counsel which he said, he had given him, after his defeat, to kill Cleopatra, and to seize on her kingdom and immense treasures, in order to resist the better, or to obtain a more advantageous peace. All this, he added, I thought myself bound in honor, gratitude, and friendship, to do for Antony. But since he has rejected my last advice, and left me at liberty to make you a tender of my future services; if you think them worth your acceptance, and can but forget what is past, you shall find me henceforth as sincere and steadfast a friend to you, as I have been hitherto to your rival. As an earnest of which, he mentioned to him the timely succour that he had lately given to Quintus Didius, his governor in Syria, against Antony's gladiators.

AUGUSTUS was very much taken both with his speech and gallant behaviour. He had likewise been acquainted with the succour, which he had sent to Didius, and thanked him for it, assuring him that
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he readily accepted of his friendship, and confirmed the kingdom to him. In token of which, he ordered him to take up his crown and wear it before him. Herod, pleased with his good success, made some presents to Augustus and his favorites, with his usual profuseness; and was from that time in greater esteem with him than any other tributary prince. So that he returned to Jerusalem highly satisfied with these new additions of honor and power. But all this was soon soured by the unfavorable reception that he had met with from his queen MARIAMNE, and her exasperated mother.

FOR these two princeſſes, looking upon their confinement at Maſſada only as a more honorable imprisonment, and remembring with horror the bloody orders, which he had formerly left with his uncle Joſeph, concerning them, did not doubt but he had given the ſame to their two new guardians. To be ſatisfied of it, they ſpared neither preſents nor careſſes, 'till they had gained the fatal ſecret from Sohemus. So that when Herod came to Maſſada, and was going to embrace the queen with his uſual tenderneſs, and to acquaint her with his ſucceſs, he was ſurprized to find all his careſſes answered with ſighs and tears, and all other marks of grief and diſdain. His reſentment roſe to ſuch an height, that it extorted from him the bittereſt reproaches, accompanied with ſuch threatenings, as would have alarmed any woman

man but her. But his love, which was no less violent, seldom suffered those sallies of anger to be long-lived; 'till his mother and sister, tired and affrighted to see him still floating between those opposite passions, found out a way to work her effectual by raising the vilest surmises and calumnies against her unspotted character.

IN the mean time Augustus passing through Syria in his way to Egypt, Herod went to meet him as far as Ptolemais, and entertained him and his army with incredible magnificence. He accompanied him as far as Pelusium; and the emperor was so charmed with his politeness and generosity, that he made him ride by his side, whenever he went to review his troops, or upon any diversion. He gave him the same pompous reception, on his return from Egypt. By way of compensation, Augustus made him a present of the four thousand Gauls, who had served as life-guards to Cleopatra; and restored to him the territories and revenues of Jericho, Gadara, Hippon and Samaria, in the in-lands; and those of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton, on the sea-side; which made a considerable enlargement both to his kingdom and revenues.

BUT upon his return to Jerusalem, he relapsed into his former discontent and jealousies, on account of his beloved queen, whose aversion to him daily

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increased ; infomuch that ſhe came at laſt to treat him with ſuch diſdain, and accompanied with ſuch bitter reflections, as eaſily convinced him that ſhe had contracted an irreconcilable diſtaſte to him. She gave him a mortifying inſtance of it ſoon after, and ſuch a one as haſtened her death, by giving enemies an opportunity of taking the blackeſt means for puſhing his fury againſt her to the higheſt pitch. He had now floated near a year between the moſt violent affection and reſentment, and had one day withdrawn himſelf into his chamber, to reſt himſelf during the heat. He ſent for her, and in the kindeſt manner invited her to lie down by him. But ſhe, inſtead of complying with this laſt requeſt, returned his careſſes with invincible ſcorn, upbraided him with all the wrongs that he had done to her and her family, and particularly with the death of her neareſt relations. This ſo exaſperated the fierce monarch, that he wanted but little of killing her with his own hands. Salome did not let this opportunity ſlip of putting her helliſh engines at work againſt the unfortunate queen. She had corrupted the king's cup-bearer before hand, to be ready on the firſt call with one of her blackeſt accuſations againſt her. And now ſhe ſent him to Herod with a poiſoned cup in one hand, and a ſum of money in the other, to acquaint him that MARIAMNE had bribed him with the one, to adminiſter the other to him. The rage which this new accuſation threw him into, made him

him order one of her favourite eunuchs and confidants to be put to the rack. But all the confession, that could be extorted from him, was, that he believed the cruel orders left with Sohemus to have exasperated the queen against him. Herod, enraged at a person in whom he had reposed so great confidence, should dare, in spite of his express commands to the contrary, to disclose so important a secret, was again easily persuaded that a criminal conversation must have been the purchase of it. The favourite Sohemus was therefore condemned to an immediate death.

BUT MARIAMNE'S high quality and interest with the people required other measures. This excellent princess was, by his orders brought to a public trial. Herod himself, having packed a set of judges of his own creatures, carried on the prosecution with such violence, that they easily understood the necessity of condemning her to death; tho' they all hoped and entreated that he would not precipitate the sentence, but confine her to some castle 'till he had more maturely consulted with his own heart. But Salome, who knew how apt her brother was to relapse, and fearing lest her treachery should be discovered, if her death should be delayed, at length obtained an order for her execution. And this was obtained under a pretence that the nation would rise in arms for her, if he suffered her to live any longer.

MARIAMNE received the fatal summons with an heroic courage, becoming her exalted virtue and quality, and walked to the place of execution with a countenance amazingly serene and placid; 'till an extraordinary affair intervened which put her constancy to the severest trial. Her mother, the turbulent intriguing Alexandra, who expected to follow in a short time, could think of no better expedient to avert the impending storm than by trying to ingratiate herself with Herod, by insulting her unfortunate daughter all the way as she was led to the fatal place. Not 'contented to load her with the bitterest reproaches for her ingratitude and unfaithfulness to the most affectionate of husbands, she even made some offers to strike her and pull her by the hair. MARIAMNE bore all this pretended resentment, without betraying any other change in her countenance, than what discovered her inward shame at so base an artifice; which did not however answer the end. MARIAMNE submitted to her death with the same constancy and intrepidity that she had lived. And with her ended all the happiness of her tyrannic husband.

Thus perished the amiable MARIAMNE, a lady possessed of many excellent virtues. Her only failing seems to have been the want of a proper deference to the person and authority of her husband, whom she reproved and reproached too freely, it may be, presuming

fuming upon the violence of his passion. In this she deserves our pity more than censure: for her provocations were of the most stimulating kind; and not to have expressed a sensibility of them, would have argued a meanness of spirit. But provoking as the injuries of herself and family were, perhaps she carried it too far. And it should be a lesson to the fair, and indeed to all others, to alleviate by a patient sufferance those evils which it is impossible to remedy.

THE reader, who is deeply affected with this scene of cruelty, will receive some ease from the retribution of justice; when he is informed that, Herod's rage being soon quenched with the blood of his lovely consort, the ardor of his passion broke out more fiercely, and filled him with such pungent remorse, that his life decame a burden to him. MARIAMNE was still uppermost in his thoughts, he called aloud upon her, and sometimes would order his attendants to fetch her to him. A grievous pestilence, which happened soon after, and swept away multitudes of all ranks, added a fresh load to his misery; for it was universally looked upon in a judicial light. He withdrew himself into the neighbouring deserts, under the pretence of hunting, but really, to shun the sight of men. Being seized with a violent distemper in his bowels, he returned to Samaria, where his physicians long tried in vain to

give him some relief. His constitution, however, got the better of his disease, but never could of that four and brutish humour, to which he abandoned himself more and more. He grew at length to such an height of cruelty, that he spared neither friend nor foe, in his fits of rage. But this is little ; for he put his own three sons to death. Alexandra also, the mother of MARIAMNE, suffered without a trial. He destroyed the whole Asmonean Race ; filled the city with blood ; and turned his own palace into a slaughter-house. At last he was seized with a distemper so complicated, and attended with such nauseous and frightful symptoms, that he became loathsome and intolerable, both to himself and others. To prevent the people from rejoicing at his death, he bethought himself of such an horrid expedient, as scarce ever entered into the heart of any other tyrant. He issued his summons for all the heads of the Jews to repair to Jericho on a set day, upon pain of death ; and on their arrival, ordered them all to be shut up in the Circus. He then sent for his sister Salome and her husband, and gave them a strict charge to have them all butchered, as soon as he should breathe his last. “ Thus, said he, I shall not only damp the
“ people’s joy, but secure a real mourning at my
“ death.” For once, however, they disappointed his cruelty ; for at his death, which presently ensued, they flung open the gates of their confinement, and sent them home : so that the public joy, at his exit, was excessive.

CHAP.



C H A P. IV.

O F

MARCUS AURELIUS
ANTONINUS.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS, surnamed the Philosopher, was the best prince that ever swayed a sceptre, and his reign is commonly stiled the *Golden Age*. For he made good the saying, which he had borrowed from Plato, and had frequently in his mouth, “ that states would be happy, “ when princes were Philosophers.”

HE was from his tender years brought up by the emperor Hadrian, his kinsman. That prince would have adopted him and named him his successor. But as he was then too young, he chose T. Antoninus, who had married his aunt, in his room; obliging him to adopt his nephew. He was instructed by the greatest men of the age in every branch of literature. Hence he became one of the greatest Orators, Philosophers, and Civilians of his time. But he delighted chiefly in the study of Philosophy, and at twelve
years

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years of age, wore the habit and practiced all the austerities of a professor of it. This impaired his health to that degree, that he became very weak and infirm, tho' otherwise naturally of a robust constitution. He married Annia Faustina, the daughter of his predecessor, and had by her several children of both sexes.

ANTONINUS, a little before he dyed, having declared MARCUS AURELIUS his successor, and recommended to him the empire and his daughter in the presence of the chief officers of the court; the senate obliged MARCUS AURELIUS to accept the sovereignty and take upon him the management of affairs, without so much as mentioning Lucius Verus, who was likewise the son of Antoninus by adoption. But this last was very different in temper and conduct, wholly abandoned to debauchery, and more inclined to tread in the footsteps of Nero and Caligula, than to imitate the virtues of Antoninus and AURELIUS. The former indeed, who was well acquainted with his temper, had never invested him with any power, nor even conferred upon him the title of Cæsar. Yet MARCUS AURELIUS immediately declared him not only Cæsar, but Augustus, and his partner in the sovereign power. So that Rome saw herself then for the first time governed by two sovereigns at once. And the year 163 of the Christian Æra is distinguished in the Fasti, and Inscriptions, by the Consulate of
the

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the two Augusti. They both governed with great mildness and unity, Lucius behaving rather as the lieutenant of AURELIUS, than his partner in the sovereignty. No one had occasion to regret the loss of Antoninus, whose measures were pursued by both princes. That their union might be closer, MARCUS AURELIUS betrothed his daughter Lucilla to Lucius Verus.

THE happiness, which the empire enjoyed under the two sovereigns, was soon interrupted by a dreadful inundation of the Tiber, which overturned many private houses and public buildings in the city, carried away great numbers of people and cattle, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great distance. This was followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in several provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced an infinite number of insects, that destroyed what the flood had spared, and produced a famine in Rome. These calamities were in a great measure allayed by the care and presence of the two emperors, who, at their own expence, supplied the distressed city with corn, and made good the losses sustained by particulars. At the same time the Parthian war broke out; the Catti made irruptions into Germany and Rhœtia, and the Britons began to revolt. It was judged proper that Lucius Verus should march in person against the Parthians. The good emperor

was

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was not displeased to have such a specious pretence of removing his colleague from Rome ; hoping that a warlike life would give him a distaste to the idle amusements and debaucheries of the town. But the event shewed him greatly mistaken. For Lucius Verus, instead of intending the Business of the war, gave himself up to banquets and revels, and infamous vices of every kind in the most profligate manner. But his lieutenants were generally esteemed the best commanders of the age, and by them many great exploits were performed in Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Media, and on the banks of the Tigris.

IN the mean time MARCUS AURELIUS made it his whole study to reform, by wholesome laws and his own example, the manners of the Romans ; to redress abuses ; to reward the virtuous ; and to reclaim the vicious, rather by gentle means than severity. Under his mild administration, the people enjoyed all the blessings of liberty ; and were truly no less free, than their ancestors had been in the best times of the republic. He paid a greater deference to the senate, than Antoninus himself had ever done. To them he referred the decision of such causes as belonged to his own tribunal, and undertook nothing without their advice, saying that “ It was more reasonable for him to follow the advice of so many wise men, than for so many wise men to follow his.” He never failed to attend the senate, delivering

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delivering his opinion there like a private Senator. He administered justice in person with great assiduity and impartiality; heard patiently such as complained of his ministers; and endeavoured, as far as was consistent with equity, to dismiss no one from his presence unsatisfied. He suffered no criminal to be condemned or executed, 'till he had examined the charge with great care and attention, and heard what the person accused could alledge in his own defence. He was naturally inclined to mercy; but nevertheless punished such as were guilty of any enormous crime with the utmost rigor. However, we have innumerable instances of his clemency, and very few of his severity.

ARMENIA was now reduced, and in the following year he sent his daughter Lucilla into Syria, to be married there to Lucius Verus, to whom for some time before she had been betrothed. He would willingly have attended her thither in person; but some speeches being given out, as if he intended to assume to himself the glory of finishing the Parthian war, he dropped the design, and parted with her at Brundisium.

THE next year, which was the fourth of his reign, the Parthians were utterly defeated by Avidius Cassius, who took the city of Ctesiphon, and laid the palace of the Parthian monarchs in ashes.—

He

He likewise made himself master of Edeffa, of Babylon, and all Media; and the city of Seleucia opened her gates to him. For these successes the senate bestowed on Lucius Verus the glorious title of The Conqueror of the Parthians and Medes; tho' he had never stirred from Antioch; and he triumphed on his return. The title of Parthicus was given by the senate to both emperors, and both assumed that of Father of their country, which MARCUS AURELIUS had before declined.

THE return of Lucius Verus proved, in a manner, fatal to the whole world. For he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he passed: So that the infection not only spread through Italy, but extended to the most distant countries that were subject to, or had any communication with the Romans. With great violence it raged for some years, especially in Italy and at Rome, where it carried off many thousands, and among the rest, great numbers of illustrious persons. MARCUS AURELIUS caused such of the common people, as died, to be buried at his own expence, and enacted, on that occasion, some laws concerning burials and sepulchres, which were still in force in Dioclesian's time. The plague was followed by a dreadful famine, by earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities. At the same time the Marcomanni, one of the most warlike nations in Germany, invaded the empire, having

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having first drawn into their alliance all the barbarous nations which bordered on the Roman dominions from Gaul to Illyricum.

THIS war which is called one of the greatest that Rome ever sustained, was kindled while the flower of the Roman troops were yet employed in the east against the Parthians; but had been suspended for some time by the address of the commanders on the frontiers, that Rome might not be at once engaged in two such dreadful contests. But the affairs of the east were no sooner settled, and Lucius Verus returned to Rome, than MARCUS AURELIUS acquainted the senate, that a war with the Marcomanni was inevitable, and of such consequence, that it required the presence of both emperors. For he did not care to commit the whole management of the war to Verus, judging him unequal to it; yet was unwilling to leave him at Rome, where he began to be daily more and more despised, on account of his enormous debaucheries. The senate approved his proposal; and both emperors, after having offered an infinite number of sacrifices, and implored the protection of the gods, left Rome about the close of the year in their military apparel, and hastened to Aquileia, there to make the necessary preparations for taking the field early in the spring.

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THEIR approach then struck the enemy with such terror, that they repassed the Danube, and even punished with death the authors and promoters of the war. Most of the nations, that had taken arms, dispatched ambassadors either to the emperors or their generals, to make their submissions, and ask pardon for having disturbed the peace of the empire. Verus, who panted for the diversions of the city, was for returning therefore to Rome immediately. But MARCUS AURELIUS, suspecting the sincerity of the barbarians, continued some time at Aquileia, fortifying that place with new works, and then passed the neighbouring Alps. And having provided with great care for the safety of Italy and Illyricum, he returned to Rome about the end of the year. But in the course of the next, the war broke out afresh, and a signal victory was gained by the Romans over the Marcomanni, Quadi, Sarmatians and Dacians.

BUT notwithstanding their defeat, these people renewed their hostilities with more vigour than ever. So that both emperors left Rome in the depth of winter, and returned to Aquileia; intending to attack the barbarians early in the spring. But the plague beginning to rage there with great violence, they thought it adviseable to leave the place, and hasten back to the capital. On the road near Altinum, Lucius Verus was seized, with an apoplexy. He was blooded, and by that means brought alive to
Altinum.

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Altinum, where he lay three days speechless and then died ; after having lived thirty nine years, and reigned eight, and some months. After the performance of his funeral obsequies, Marcus Aurelius removed from the court, all his debauched favorites and freedmen, retaining only one of that herd, by name Eclectus, who afterwards repaid this grace by murdering his son Commodus.

As the best of princes are often maliciously censured ; so MARCUS AURELIUS was said to have delivered himself from so troublesome a colleague, either by poison, or by ordering his physician Posidippus to let him bleed unseasonably. This is hinted by Dio Cassius, with the reason of it, which was, that Verus was said to have formed a conspiracy, to murder MARCUS AURELIUS and reign alone. But whatever Verus might be capable of, it is a crime, according to other historians, to imagine that such a prince as MARCUS AURELIUS to whom flattery itself has never equalled any other, would by any means contribute to the death of his colleague. Only such fratricides as Caracalla, and persons guilty of the most enormous crimes themselves, can entertain such thoughts of AURELIUS.

THE emperor, now delivered from so troublesome and vicious a partner, made it his whole study to oblige all with his engaging behaviour and unbound-

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ed generosity. He seemed to excel, not only his predecessors, but his former self, governing with such moderation and mildness, as can hardly be expressed. The necessary preparations for the war with the Marcomanni, engrossed at this time his care and attention. His lieutenants gained some advantages against them; but the enemy soon resumed their courage, and falling upon Vindex, captain of the guards, cut both him and most of his men in pieces. After this victory, they approached the Roman territories, where they were met by the flower of the troops of the empire. A bloody battle ensued, which lasted many hours, both the Romans and Barbarians fighting with incredible courage and resolution. But at length the Romans were utterly defeated and put to flight, with the loss of near twenty thousand men. The Marcomanni pursued the fugitives to the very walls of Aquileia; which city they had taken, had not the Roman generals rallied their men, with great skill and conduct. The Barbarians entered Italy, committing every where most dreadful devastations. The news of this fatal overthrow filled Rome with terror and consternation. As the plague which still raged in most provinces, had greatly weakened the army; slaves, gladiators, and even the Banditti of Dalmatia and Dardania, were admitted among the troops. And the emperor prevailed upon some mercenary Germans to serve against their countrymen.

THUS

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THUS a considerable army was soon raised. But as money was wanting to defray the charges of so dangerous a war, the good-natured emperor, not able to prevail upon himself to burthen his people with new taxes, exposed to public sale the furniture of the palace, the gold and silver plate, all the valuable pictures and statues belonging to the crown, and even his wife's rich garments embroidered with gold, and a curious collection of pearls, which Adrian had purchased during his long progress through the provinces of the empire. The sale lasted two months, and produced such a vast sum as enabled the emperor to relieve the people that year, when provisions were very dear; to defray the charges of a five years expensive war; and, at the conclusion of it, to buy back part of what he had sold; tho' the buyers had full liberty to retain their purchases, or to take their money again. Before he set out from Rome, he married his daughter Lucilla, the widow of Lucius Verus, to Claudius Pompeianus, originally of Antioch, and the son of a private Roman knight, but a person of extraordinary merit, and famed for his wisdom and integrity, which MARCUS AURELIUS ever preferred to wealth and nobility. But tho' he was pleased with the match, neither Lucilla nor her mother were; tho' the former retained the title of Augusta, and all the badges of sovereignty. Ere he departed, his son Annianus Verus Caesar died in the seventh year of his age. Tho' his father loved

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him most tenderly, he bore his death with great firmness; comforting the empress Faustina, and the physicians, who are said to have occasioned his death, by opening a swelling under his ear unseasonably.

At length the emperor set out for Germany, where he overcame the enemy, and gave innumerable instances of extraordinary prudence and intrepidity; chusing rather to prolong the war and tire out the enemy, than to expose his men to unnecessary dangers. The soldiers, animated by the example of their leader, behaved with uncommon bravery; and the captains of the guards, as well as the other generals, very eminently signalized themselves. The Marcomanni, Quadi, Sarmatians and Vandals abandoned Pannonia, and received a dreadful overthrow, as they were passing the Danube. The Jazyges were twice defeated; and his son-in-law Pompeianus, assisted by Pertinax, drove the Germans from Rhætia and Noricum.

BEFORE this war was ended, another broke out in Egypt; the robbers and shepherds of that country, who were numerous, taking up arms, at the instigation of their priests, and committing dreadful disorders. Being headed by one Isidorus, a man of desperate resolution, they killed a Roman centurion and some soldiers by treachery. The Egyptians afterwards

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terwards joining them in great numbers, they defeated the Roman troops in a pitched battle, and would have made themselves masters of Alexandria, had not Avidius Cassius marched against them from Syria. This able general found means to sow divisions amongst them, and obliged them at last to lay down their arms. He then marched into Armenia and Arabia, where he performed great exploits. At this time the Moors invaded Spain; but were at last driven out by the emperor's lieutenants.

THE next year furnishes an instance of the emperor's great forbearance. A dispute had arisen between Herodes Atticus and the city of Athens. The cause was to be tried by the emperor at Sirmium. But Herodes, instead of pleading with his usual eloquence, launched out into bitter and scurrilous invectives against the emperor himself, telling him that he suffered himself to be governed by a woman and an infant of three years old. For the empress, and her young daughter instructed by her, had interceded for the Athenians. The emperor heard him with unconcern, and when he withdrew, addressing the Athenian deputies, "You may alledge your reasons, said he, "tho' Herodes has not been pleased to alledge his." He listened with attention to their complaints, and could not help shedding tears when they described the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of Herodes and his freedmen, who had oppressed the people

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people in a tyrannical manner. But the punishment that he inflicted, was too mild, and no way answerable to their crimes.

GREAT advantages were gained over the enemy, in the course of the next year. But in the second year after that, MARCUS AURELIUS, by an event altogether miraculous, escaped being cut off with his whole army. He was then making war in the country of the Quadi, near the river Gran. This memorable battle was begun by the enemy's slingers and archers, who from the opposite banks of the river galled the Romans to such a degree, that the emperor judged it adviseable to pass the river and dislodge them. This was done, not without great slaughter on both sides. But the enemy, retiring in good order, as had been concerted, drew the Romans, who advanced with more bravery than conduct, into a disadvantageous place, among barren mountains, quite destitute of water. The Romans, closing their ranks, defended themselves gallantly, and repulsed the enemy, who, giving over the attack, seized the avenues, and blocked them up on all sides, hoping to reduce by thirst those whom they could not vanquish by arms. The Romans finding themselves thus shut up among barren mountains, quite spent with their wounds and the fatigues of the battle, oppressed with heat, and tortured with an intolerable drought, attempted to open themselves
a way

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a way through the midst of the enemy. But all their efforts proving unsuccessful, they found themselves obliged to continue under arms, exposed to the rays of the sun, and oppressed with ardent thirst, without being able either to fight or retire. In this deplorable extremity, both soldiers and officers began to abandon themselves to despair; while the emperor, more affected with the miseries of the soldiers than his own, flew through all the ranks, endeavouring to raise their drooping spirits. But, as they saw no possible means of escaping, his words were to little purpose. Nothing was heard but groans and lamentations; nothing seen but marks of total despair.

In this distress, when they expected every moment to be cut in pieces, or to become a prey to the barbarous enemy, who surrounded them, clouds appeared all on a sudden gathering in the air; the sky was overcast; and to their inexpressible joy, rain fell in great plenty. The fainting soldiers received it, holding their mouths, helmets, and bucklers up to heaven, as they are represented on the famous column of ANTONINUS at Rome. In this posture the barbarians fell upon them; so that they were obliged at once to drink and fight. For they were so oppressed with drought, that such of them, as were wounded, drank their own blood mixed with the water from their helmets. As they were more eager to quench their thirst, than to repulse the enemy;
they

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they had been all cut in pieces, had they not been miraculously succoured by a dreadful storm of hail, attended with thunder and lightening, which discharged itself upon the Barbarians, as they advanced against them. Thus were seen at the same time fire and water descending from heaven; water to refresh the Romans, and fire to destroy their enemies. For, either no fire fell upon the Romans, or it was presently extinguished. And the rain, which fell upon the Barbarians, was so far from overcoming the flames which consumed them, that on the contrary it doubled their violence, as it had been not water, but oil. The enemy, thus destitute of water in the midst of an heavy shower, were obliged either to wound themselves, in order to extinguish with their blood the devouring flames, or to throw themselves on the mercy of MARCUS AURELIUS, who received and entertained them in a friendly manner.

THIS event was engraven on the famous column of ANTONINUS, with the other exploits of MARCUS AURELIUS during the Marcomannic war. The truth of it has been universally acknowledged both by the Christian and pagan writers; who nevertheless disagree in their manner of accounting for it. Dio Cassius ascribes it to a celebrated magician of Egypt, named Arnuphis, who attended the emperor in this war; Suidas to a Magician, by name Julianus, who was originally of Chaldea, and wrote several
books

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books of Magic. Julius Capitolinus and Themistius pretend, that this shower was owing to the emperor's own prayers. And the poet Claudian, in the following lines, is of opinion, that the excellent morality of this prince called down the favor of heaven in this wonderful manner upon his troops;

With ardent longings thus his country burn'd,
When MARCUS, fam'd for lenity, return'd ;
When Italy, with nations girt around,
The wish'd relief from pressing perils found.
No praise the gen'als gain'd. Celestial ire
Pour'd down, tremendous, in a show'r of fire,
And whelm'd the foe : impavid heretofore,
The flaming steed his trembling rider bore.
One sunk to earth in agony of pain,
While the fus'd helmet scorch'd him to the brain.
The melting spear with fervent light'ning glow'd ;
And the sheath'd steel from subtle vapours flow'd.
Not then the ranks by mortal weapons bled,
Content with heaven alone, the battle sped.
Whether Chaldean charms with magic rite ;
Had arm'd the gods, as parties, to the fight :
Or MARCUS' morals claim'd celestial aid,
And thund'ring Jove his virtues thus repaid.

IN the above-mentioned column of the Antonini, this by the pagans is ascribed to their *thundering Jupiter*. But all the Christian writers assure us, that so signal a favor was granted by Heaven to the pray-
ers

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ers of the Christian soldiers, who served in the Roman army.

AFTER this glorious victory MARCUS AURELIUS was proclaimed emperor the seventh time, and the empress Faustina was honored by the senate with the title of Mater Castrorum, or Mother of the armies.

THE emperor was now desirous of reducing the countries of the Marcomanni, and the Sarmatians, to Roman provinces. And this he had undoubtedly effected, but for the revolt of Avidius Cassius. He placed twenty thousand men among the Quadi and Marcomanni, and harassed those two nations to such a degree, that they determined to abandon their native soil, and settle elsewhere. But the emperor prevented them from putting this design in execution; so that their fields being laid waste, and all communication cut off with the neighbouring nations; they were constrained by famine to send ambassadors to the emperor, and sue for peace. The Quadi sent with their envoys, all the Roman deserters, and thirteen thousand prisoners, and obtained a peace upon hard terms. But these they quickly broke through, joined the Jazyges, who were still in arms, and drew over the Marcomanni. At the same time they expelled their king Furtius for disapproving of their measures, and appointed one Ariogeses

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Ariogefes in his room. This gave so much displeasure to MARCUS AURELIUS, that he proscribed the new prince, and set a price upon his head.

HEREUPON, the Quadi, Marcomanni, Jazyges, Buri, Narisci, and many other nations, attacked the Romans ; but were, after a long, bloody, and obstinate dispute, put to the rout, and utterly defeated. Ariogefes himself was taken prisoner ; whose life the emperor generously spared, and contented himself with confining the captive to the city of Alexandria, the capital of Egypt. Most of the nations of Germany now sued for peace. The Jazyges gave up more than an hundred thousand prisoners, that had been taken during the war, and supplied the emperor with a body of eighty thousand horsemen, of whom he immediately sent five thousand into Britain. The terms granted to the several nations were more favorable than they could have expected. For the emperor found himself obliged by all means to put an end to this war, in order to lead his troops against Avidius Cassius, who had assumed the Purple in Syria.

Avidius Cassius had restored the ancient discipline amongst the troops in Asia, and had been wonderfully successful with them against the Parthians. When he was afterwards sent against the Sarmatians, and was encamped near the Danube, some

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auxiliaries of his army, upon intelligence that the enemy lay carelessly on the banks of that river, went without his knowledge to attack them, killed three thousand, and returned to the camp loaden with great booty. The centurions, who had put them upon this enterprize, and headed them in the action, expected some great Reward from Cassius, for having, with an handful of men, killed such a number of the enemy ; while the tribunes and other officers had neglected so favorable an opportunity. But Cassius, considering this as a bad precedent, instead of rewarding the centurions, caused them all to be seized, and crucified like slaves. This occasioned a mutiny in the army ; but Cassius, without betraying the least fear, appeared unarmed amidst the incensed multitude, crying aloud to them, “ Kill me ; and, to “ your neglect of duty, add, if you dare, the murder of your general.” This intrepidity allayed their fury, and, no one daring to add a single word of complaint, they returned to their tents, and thenceforth made it their whole study to observe the military laws, knowing that they served under a general who would not wink at such offences, or suffer them to go unpunished. This instance of severity made such a deep impression on the minds of the Sarmatians, that, despairing to conquer a people thus observant of discipline, they immediately sent ambassadors, and implored a peace.

AFTER

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AFTER the first Marcomannic war, the emperor made him governor of Syria. On his arrival at Antioch, he ordered all the officers and soldiers to their colours ; forbade them, on pain of being cashiered, to be seen at Daphne, a place of great licentiousness in the suburbs of Antioch ; every seventh day examined their cloaths, arms, and equipages ; and obliged them frequently to perform their exercises in a body. In a word, Dio Cassius speaks of his namesake, not only as an eminent commander, but as a person equal to, and in every respect worthy of the empire. But a better man possessed it. This however was a formidable competitor. He had been charged with aspiring to the imperial diadem, first under Antoninus Pius, and afterwards in the Parthian war under Lucius Verus. This last, on that occasion, wrote thus to MARCUS AURELIUS ;

“ AVIDIUS CASSIUS seems to me to aspire
“ to the empire, as it is well known he did in the
“ reign of our father Antoninus Pius. I therefore
“ advise you to keep a watchful eye over him. He
“ censures and condemns all our actions, grows ex-
“ ceeding rich, and speaks of us both with the utmost
“ contempt, calling you a doting philosopher, and
“ me a luxurious fool. Consider what is to be done.
“ I bear no hatred to the man ; but would have you
“ to reflect, that by vesting such a person with power,
“ and trusting him with the command of the troops,

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“ by whom he is greatly beloved, you may injure
 “ both yourself and your children.”

NOTHING can give us a greater idea of the truly heroic virtue of this excellent prince, than his answer to this letter, which ran thus;

“ I have perused your letter, in which you be-
 “ tray greater fear and uneasiness than becomes an
 “ emperor, or is consistent with the equity of our
 “ reign. If the empire is allotted by heaven to A-
 “ vidius Cassius, it will not be in our power to cut
 “ him off. You know the saying of your grand-
 “ father, Adrian, that *No man cuts off his successor*. If
 “ Cassius is not destined to the empire, he will fall
 “ of himself, without our cruelty, into the fatal
 “ snare. Besides, we cannot in justice treat a person
 “ as a criminal, who is accused by none, and is, as
 “ you write, beloved by the army, and consequently
 “ a man of merit, and a good commander. In cas-
 “ es of treason, even when the crime is proved, the
 “ world is apt to think the sufferer injured: which
 “ made your grandfather Adrian complain of the hard
 “ fate of emperors, who are never thought to have
 “ been in danger ’till they are killed. I chuse to name
 “ Adrian, rather than Domitian, who was the first
 “ author of this saying; because a thing, however
 “ well said, has not its due weight and authority,
 “ when it comes from a tyrant. Let therefore Avid-
 ius

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“ ius Cassius pursue his own measures. He is an
“ excellent officer, a man of great courage, and
“ useful to the state. As for my children, to whose
“ safety you would me to sacrifice him; if he deserves
“ to be more beloved than they, if his life promises
“ greater advantages to the state than theirs, let
“ Avidius Cassius live. Let the children of MARCUS
“ AURELIUS perish.”

THEREFORE after the Parthian war was ended, he was again employed against the Sarmatians; and afterwards sent to govern Syria, where he now spread a report of the emperor's death, and caused himself to be proclaimed by that title. He soon became master of all the countries beyond Mount Taurus, and of Egypt itself; Flavius Calvisius, governor of that province, having declared for him: and the Jews espoused his cause with particular zeal.

NEVER was so little enmity between two competitors for empire. MARCUS AURELIUS only complained of the ungrateful return which Cassius made him for the kindness that he ever had, and ever should have for him, notwithstanding his revolt; as he hoped to shew, as soon as he had brought him to a sense of his duty. Neither did Cassius on his side utter any injurious reflections against MARCUS AURELIUS; but only charged him with neglecting the most important affairs of the

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state, to attend to the study of Philosophy ; and with suffering, through an excess of goodness, many disorders, which it was incumbent upon him, as emperor, to correct.

THE senate were no sooner informed of the revolt of Cassius, than they declared him a public enemy, and confiscated his estate, which the emperor ordered to be returned, not into his private coffers, as had been usual with his predecessors, but into the public treasury.

AND NOW MARCUS AURELIUS began his march towards the East to meet Cassius, declaring, that he was ready to resign the empire to him, if the Gods should judge it expedient for the public good, “ For it is not,” added he, “ any private interest or ambition, but the public welfare, that prompts me to undergo so many labors, and to expose myself to so many dangers.” But he was not marched far when news came, that Cassius had been killed by a centurion named Antonius, and another officer of yet inferior rank. With him was killed his captain of the guards, and soon after, his son Metianus, whom he had appointed governor of Egypt. No other person of distinction, at least of the senatorial order, perished on this occasion ; and these were put to death without the emperor’s knowledge, and against his will. When the head of Cassius was brought

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brought to him, he expressed much sorrow, turned his eyes away, and caused it to be honorably interred; complaining that he had been robbed of an opportunity of shewing his mercy.

THIS dream of Cassius lasted but three months and six days. The emperor himself would neither try, imprison, nor condemn any senator concerned in the conspiracy; but referred the whole to the senate, appointing the criminals a day, whereon to appear before their judges.

IN the mean time, he wrote word to the senate, that he had appointed his son-in-law, Pompeianus, Consul for the ensuing year, and then exhorts them in the following manner;

“AS for what concerns the defection of Cassius,
“I beg and conjure you, conscript fathers, to have
“a tender regard to your characters, and to mine.
“Let no one senator be put to death. Let the
“blood of no person be spilt. Let such as have
“been already banished, return, and enjoy their
“estates. I wish I could raise from the dead those
“who perished in the first heat of the war! Revenge is never commendable in an emperor; it ill
“becomes him in his own cause, be it ever so just.
“You will therefore pardon the children of Avidius
“Cassius, his son-in-law, and his wife. But why
“do

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“do I say *pardon*, when they have committed no
 “crime? Let them live in safety, and enjoy their
 “paternal estate, with all their father’s plate and
 “furniture. Let them have full liberty to live where
 “they please; that they may be so many instances
 “of your clemency and mine. I further beg and de-
 “fire, that all the senators, and Roman knights in
 “general, who have been privy to this rebellion,
 “be by your authority, exempted from death, pro-
 “scription, infamy, in short, from all kind of punish-
 “ment. Allow it to be said, to your honor and
 “mine, that in this rebellion such only perished,
 “as were killed in the hurry of the war.”

IN fact, only a few centurions were executed, and
 some officers of higher distinction banished. Among
 the last was Flavius Calvissius, the late governor of
 Egypt, who was confined to an island; but the em-
 peror would not suffer his estate to be confiscated.
 The children of Cassius were taken under the em-
 peror’s immediate protection, who raised them to
 great preferments, and forbid any one to reproach
 them with the misfortunes of their family.

THIS way of proceeding by no means suited the
 disposition of the empress Faustina. She wrote to
 her husband, and pressed him to pursue the accom-
 plices of Cassius with the utmost severity. His an-
 swer should be stamped in characters indelible of
 gold ;

“I

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“ I have read your letter, my dear Faustina,
“ wherein you advise me to treat the accomplices
“ of Cassius with the utmost severity, which you
“ think they well deserve. This I look upon as a
“ pledge of the love you bear to your husband and
“ children. But give me leave, my dear Faustina,
“ to spare the children of Cassius, his son-in-law,
“ and his wife, and to write to the senate in their
“ behalf. Nothing can more recommend a Roman
“ emperor to the esteem of the world, than Clemency.
“ This placed Cæsar among the gods—This
“ consecrated Augustus—This procured to your
“ father the title of Pius. I am grieved even for
“ the death of Cassius, and wish it had been in
“ my power to have prevented it. Be therefore
“ satisfied. MARCUS ANTONINUS is protected by
“ the Gods, to whom his Piety is dear.”

SOME of his friends took the liberty of saying,
that “ Cassius would not have been so generous, had
“ fortune proved favorable to him.” To this he replied,
“ We have not lived, nor served the Gods
“ so ill, as to think that they *would* favor Cassius.”
He added that “ The misfortunes of some of his
“ predecessors were entirely owing to their own ill
“ conduct and cruelties; and that no good prince
“ had ever been overcome or slain by an usurper.
“ Nero, Caligula, and Domitian deserved the doom
“ that overtook them. Neither Otho, nor Vitellius
“ were

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“were equal to the empire. And the down-fall of
“Galba was occasioned by his avarice, an unpar-
“donable fault in a prince!”

THE emperor, after the death of Cassius, continued his march into Asia; whither the empress and her son Commodus followed. But the former of these died suddenly in a village called Halala, at the foot of Mount Taurus. She was a woman of a loose and wanton life, altogether unworthy of having such a father as Antoninus Pius, or such an husband as MARCUS AURELIUS, whom some did not believe to be the father of Commodus. His too great uxoriousness for a woman of this character seems to have been his principal failing. Being once advised to divorce her, he answered, “Should I repudiate my wife, I must return her dower.” And that was no less than the Roman empire, which he had received of her father. But in his own writings he gives some reasons for that regard, which he ever shewed her. For there he commends her free and open temper; her sincerity in friendship; and her acquiescence in his will.

AFTER her death, he did not think it adviseable to subject his children to the authority of a stepmother, but took in the room of a lawful wife, the daughter of one of the deceased empress’ domestics. For to that purity, which Christianity requires, even
the

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the most virtuous amongst the pagan philosophers were utter strangers.

As the Syrians, looking upon Cassius as their countryman, had readily joined him, a law now passed, enacting, that no one should be sent with the character of governor into his own country.

MARCUS AURELIUS, arriving in the east, freely forgave all the cities and communities that had sided with Cassius; except Antioch, whose inhabitants had distinguished themselves for him with particular zeal. These therefore he deprived of their privileges; took away their public assemblies, and suppressed the shews and spectacles, to which they were immoderately addicted.— But his anger was soon appeased. For, before he left Syria, he restored them to their former condition, and even condescended to visit their city. From Syria he passed into Egypt, where he not only forgave, but enriched with several privileges, the city of Alexandria, which had likewise sided with Cassius. He visited most of the chief cities of the east, and gave every where innumerable instances of his humanity and good nature. At Smyrna he stayed some time, and had several conferences with the celebrated Sophist Aristides. Thence he sailed to Athens, and was initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. On this feat of learning he conferred
many

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many favors, establishing public professors of all sciences, with yearly stipends out of the exchequer.

THENCE he sailed for Italy, and, landing at Brundisium, commanded his soldiers immediately to resume, as he himself did, the Roman gown. For neither he, nor any of his officers or soldiers, ever appeared in Italy in a military habit. He named his son Commodus, now sixteen years old, Consul for the ensuing year; and when he entered Rome, distributed, among the people and soldiery, as many pieces of gold a head, as he had been years absent, which according to Dio Cassius, were eight, others say but six years. At the same time he exhibited magnificent shews, tho' no lover of such diversions. The next year Commodus was honored with the title of Augustus; on which occasion the emperor remitted whatever was due from particulars, either to himself or the treasury. He presented the Smyrneans with large sums, to rebuild their city, which had been ruin'd by an earth-quake. At Rome, where he continued all the year, he reformed several abuses partly by wholesome laws, and partly by the prevailing influence of his own example. The combats of the Gladiators, he could not suppress, without greatly disobliging the people; yet, as he was an enemy to all cruelty and bloodshed, he allowed the combatants only blunt swords, in the nature of our foils, with which, as he observed they might equally shew their skill and dexterity.

IN

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IN the next year, the Marcomanni and their confederates, renewed the war with great vigor; so that the emperor determined to march against them in person. But before he left Rome, he married his son Commodus to Crispina, the daughter of Bruttius Præfens; and repairing to the senate, desired leave to take out of the public treasury the necessary sums for carrying on the war, saying, that an emperor had nothing of his own, not even the palace he lived in; but that all belonged to the senate and people. He then went to the capitol, where he declared upon his oath, that, since his accession to the empire, no senator had been put to death by his orders; that such as had perished in the rebellion, had been killed without his knowledge; and that he would have spared them all, Cassius himself not excepted, had it been in his power.

As he was eminently skilled in philosophy, many persons of learning earnestly entreated him to explain to them, before he left Rome, the most difficult and intricate points of the different sects of Philosophers. This he did accordingly; spending therein three whole days. They seemed to apprehend, that by his death, this knowledge might have been lost; which shews how thoroughly he was versed in the different tenets of the various sects of Philosophers.

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At length he set out from Rome, accompanied by his son Commodus. In the course of the campaign, a signal victory was gained over the Marcomanni, Hermonduri, Quadi, and Sarmatians; for which both he and his son took the title of Imperator. All we know of the action is, that the Roman army was commanded by Paternus, and that the Germans were so effectually defeated; that all Germany, and the different nations inhabiting it, would have been obliged to submit to the Roman yoke, had not MARCUS AURELIUS been prevented by death from crowning his conquests with the reduction of so powerful and extensive a country. He died of the plague on the 17th of March, 181, after having lived fifty eight years, ten months and twenty two days, and reigned nineteen years and ten days. With much difficulty he prevailed upon his son and his friends, not to abandon him during his illness. And this difficulty he took so much amiss, that he abstained from all sort of nourishment: tho' Dio Cassius is positive that his death was hastened by the physicians, who knew, that by so doing, they should obtain the favor of Commodus. It is uncertain, whether his death happened at Sirmium in Sclavonia, or at Vendobona, now Vienna, in Austria. We need not mention the concern of the soldiery and Roman people, for the loss of so great and so good a prince. His ashes were conveyed to Rome, and deposited in the monument of Adrian. He was
immediately

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immediately ranked among the Gods; a temple was erected to him; and an order of priests appointed to his honor. Whosoever had not some image or statue of MARCUS AURELIUS in his house, was judged a sacrilegious person. And he was still worshipped by most families amongst their domestic Gods, even in the time of Dioclesian.





C H A P. V.

O F Z E N O B I A.

THE name of Odenatus is famous in history, on account of the many victories which he gained over the Persians, and his saving the Roman empire in the east. He was a native of Palmyra, whose magnificent ruins are at this time spoken of with wonder, about one day's journey from the Euphrates. This city was then a Roman colony, and Odenatus was prince of the Saracens, who dwelt in that neighbourhood and were allies of the Romans. He had been accustomed from his infancy to the manly exercises of hunting, and bore with great cheerfulness and alacrity the toils of a military life.

Who was his first wife, is not known; but he had a son by her, called Herodes. His second wife was ZENOBIA, to whose superior talents and capacity her husband was principally indebted for his wonderful successes. He was scarce known 'till the captivity of the emperor Valerian, who had been taken prisoner by the Persians; when dreading the power of the Persian monarch, because he had lived in amity with the Romans, he wrote to him a most respectful

respectful and submissive letter, protesting that he had never borne arms against the Persians ; and at the same time sent him several camels loaden with rich presents. But Sapor, highly provoked at the arrogance of so insignificant a person, as he expressed himself, in presuming to write to him, tore his letter, ordered his presents to be thrown into the river, and, with a threatening voice, told his ambassadors, that he would teach their master the respect a man of his mean condition owed to his lord and sovereign ; that he would exterminate and utterly destroy him, his whole family and country ; adding, that if he came and threw himself prostrate at his feet, with his hands tied behind his back, he might perhaps, by that submission, atone in some degree for his temerity and presumption.

ODENATUS repented this vile treatment, as became a man of spirit, and swore that he would pursue the Persians to the last with fire and sword, and either bring down the pride of their mighty monarch, or perish in the attempt. In this generous resolution he was greatly encouraged by ZENOBIA, and immediately declaring for the Romans, they joined Balista, whom the Roman troops had chosen for their leader, with all their forces. After this junction, they transported their forces in boats into Cilicia, and obliged the Persians to raise the siege of Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of that province,

when it was on the point of submitting. From Cilicia they flew with great celerity into Lycaonia, and there made a dreadful havoc of the Persians, whom they found busied in plundering the open places, and no ways upon their guard. They took from them all their booty and captives, made many prisoners, and amongst the rest, the wives of Sapor. Hence they retired with their booty and captives before the Persians could draw together their dispersed forces, and embarking on the vessels and boats which they had assembled, landed some troops at Sebaste, and others at Corycus, two cities on the coast of Cilicia, and in both places surprized and cut in pieces above three thousand Persians.

THE Persian greatly concerned for these losses, and fearing still greater, (for they pursued him close) resolved to retire, and accordingly bent his march towards the Euphrates with great hurry and confusion. Many perished in the river; and the haughty Sapor was glad to compound with the Roman garrison in Edeffa, which city he had never been able to reduce, for the liberty of returning into his own country, by yielding to them all the Syrian money that he had amassed in the plunder of so many cities. Zonaras writes, that Odenatus found among the Persian captives, and likewise among the dead, many women attired and armed like men.

AFTER

AFTER these victories Odenatus assumed the title of king of Palmyra, which he likewise gave to his eldest son Herod; as he did that of queen to his wife ZENOBIA. And Gallienus, who was now emperor of Rome, to reward his eminent services, appointed him commander in chief of all the Roman forces in the East; which trust he discharged with great fidelity and courage. For in the year 261 which followed, not satisfied with having driven Sapor out of the Roman dominions, he entered Mesopotamia, and there recovered the cities of Nisibis, and Charræ. From Mesopotamia he advanced into the very heart of the Persian Dominions, being extremely desirous of crowning his other exploits with the deliverance of Valerian. Sapor met him at the head of a mighty army, and, an engagement ensuing, the Persians were utterly defeated. And Sapor, with his children, was forced to shelter himself within the walls of Ctesiphon, the metropolis of his dominions. Thither Odenatus pursued him, and laid close siege to the place; after having destroyed with fire and sword the neighbouring country to a great distance. The Persian lords, alarmed at the danger which threatened their prince and nation, armed all their vassals, and flew from the most distant parts to Ctesiphon. Many battles were fought under the walls of that metropolis, which served only to enlarge the glory of Odenatus, who was still victorious. Many Persians of great distinction
were

were taken prisoners, and sent by the conqueror to Gallienus. Thus Sapor on one side, and the brave Odenatus on the other, exerted their utmost efforts, the latter to deliver Valerian, and the former to avoid the like doom, which seemed to threaten him. But the revolt of Macrianus, which happened this year, obliged Odenatus to raise the siege of Ctesiphon.

THIS was a season very fruitful of emperors. For not only Macrianus in Syria assumed the Purple, and was supported by Balista, but Valens in Achaia, Piso in Thessaly, Aureolus in Illyricum, and Posthumus in Gaul, at the same time laid claim to the imperial title. But all these, and as many more, were presently disposed of. And Gallienus in the year 264, to reward the brave Odenatus for the many victories which he had gained over the Persians, took him for his partner in the empire, honored him with the titles of Cæsar, Augustus, and emperor; and all the ensigns of sovereignty, and caused money to be coined with his name, in which he was represented as leading the Persians captive. The title of Augusta was given to ZENOBIA, and that of Cæsar to his children. This act of Gallienus was highly applauded by the senate, by the people of Rome, and the whole empire. For to them was entirely owing the preservation of the eastern provinces, over-run and sorely harassed by the Persians.

ON the death of Macrianus, Balista set himself up for emperor, and was now slain by the command of Odenatus. Two years after, this prince invaded the Persian territories, put all there to fire and sword, overcame Sapor in several battles, besieged a second time, and according to Syncellus, made himself master of Ctesiphon. But in the mean time the Goths, entering Asia by the Euxine sea, over-ran Lydia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Troas, Cappadocia and Galatia, laying waste the country, plundering the towns, and carrying off an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. In the following spring therefore Odenatus, leaving Ctesiphon, hastened back to the relief of the Asiatic provinces. But the Goths, not judging it adviseable to wait his arrival, reembarked at Heraclea in Pontus, and returned home, loaden with booty. Many of them, however, were drowned, being overtaken in the Euxine sea by the Roman fleet.

ABOUT this time Odenatus died a violent death, being, according to Syncellus, killed at Heraclea; according to Zosimus, at Emesa. Trebellius Pollio writes, that he was murdered by one Mæonius, his cousin, who was proclaimed emperor in his room, but soon after put to death. But Syncellus ascribes his death to another Odenatus, who was himself murdered by the guards. His son Herodes was slain with him. He had begun, as appears from
some

some medals, the fourth year of his reign. He left behind him three sons by ZENOBIA, Herennianus, Timolaus, and Vabalath. As they were very young at the time of their father's death, ZENOBIA governed in their name, with the title of Queen of the East; arrayed them with purple robes, and other ensigns of the imperial dignity; and in that attire presented them after the death of their father, to the armies, and the assemblies of the people. ZENOBIA did not tread in the footsteps of her husband, so far as to keep up a good understanding with the emperor Gallienus. For we find that Heraclianus, whom the emperor, upon the news of the death of Odenatus, had sent into the East to make war upon the Persians, was this very year defeated by ZENOBIA, and obliged to return to Rome.

IN the year 268, and the fifteenth of his reign, Gallienus was killed before Milan, where he had besieged his competitor Aureolus. His officers could no longer bear his tyrannical government. They conspired against him therefore, and alarming the camp in the dead of the night, as if Aureolus were falling out with all his forces, killed him in the dark, with his son Gallienus, and his two brothers, Valerian and Egnatius. In his stead the most excellent Claudius was raised to the imperial dignity.

WHILE

WHILE the new emperor was gloriously employed against the Goths and other northern nations: ZENOBIA took the field against Probus, who commanded the troops in Egypt, reduced that province, and after a long siege, took and utterly destroyed Bruchium, the citadel of Alexandria. Probus, finding that he could not by any other means avoid falling into the hands of the victorious queen, dispatched himself with his own sword. In the year following the emperor, having nothing to fear from the barbarians, resolved to march against ZENOBIA, who now held all the provinces in the east: but was prevented by a violent plague which broke out in his army, and made dreadful havock of his men. He himself was in the end infected, and carried off by this raging distemper at Sirmium in Pannonia, after he had reigned two years and one month. He was succeeded by his brother Quintillus, who was murdered after a short reign of seventeen days. In his place, Aurelian was every where received as emperor. He was commander of the cavalry, and had raised himself to that post from the low condition of a common foldier.

IN the year 272, Aurelian having settled affairs in Pannonia, Italy, and at Rome, left that city and set out for the East to make war upon ZENOBIA. Our heroine, one of the most illustrious women mentioned in history, is stiled on several medals SEP-

TIMIA

TIMIA ZENOBIA. Hence some writers conclude her to have been allied to the family of the emperor Septimius Severus. She derived her pedigree from the Ptolemies and Cleopatra's of Egypt, and her family was reckoned one of the most conspicuous in the East. She was well versed in all the branches of polite literature; understood thoroughly the Egyptian, Greek and Latin languages; and in the knowledge of history excelled most men of her time. She is even said to have compiled an abridgment of the Egyptian and Oriental historians, which was in great request among the learned. Athanasius writes that she professed the Jewish religion, and is therein followed by Abulfarajius.——She was no less courageous than her husband, and equally experienced in military affairs. For six years after his death, she discharged each duty of an excellent prince and a consummate commander, with all the prudence and intrepidity of a man. She shewed great wisdom in her counsels, and steadiness in her resolutions; was kind and generous to persons of merit, but inexorable when severity was judged necessary. She lived with all the grandeur of a queen, imitating the pomp and magnificence of the Persian monarchs, and causing all those who approached her, to fall prostrate before her, after the manner of the Persian court. She frequently appeared at the head of her troops, armed with an helmet, and arrayed with imperial robes, harangued them,

them, and marched with them several miles on foot; using a horse, and sometimes a chariot, when the marches were long, but seldom a litter. In imitation of the Roman emperors she gave magnificent entertainments, not scrupling on such occasions, to drink plentifully with the officers of her army, and the Persian and Armenian ambassadors, tho' otherwise very sober and temperate. Constant she was to a degree that was very singular. For looking upon the multiplication of the species to be the sole end of marriage, when she had reason to think that she might have conceived, she abstained from all further matrimonial commerce, 'till she was satisfied in that point, and when she was so, 'till after her delivery. Her complexion was inclining to the brown. Her eyes were black, and had in them a most striking vivacity, a sort of divine spirit, with incredible loveliness. Her voice was clear and manly; and her teeth so bright, that most people thought her to have pearls placed there instead of teeth. She made use of but few servants of her own sex; being generally attended by Eunuchs of age and gravity.

IN the reign of Gallienus, she defeated Heraclianus, as is above related; and by his overthrow, remained in the peaceable possession of all Syria and Mesopotamia; to which she added Egypt, while Claudius was occupied in the Gothic War. Not satisfied with these acquisitions, in the reign of Au-

relian, she seized on great part of Asia, and attempted to reduce Bithynia. Aurelian, desirous to put an end to her authority, ordered all his forces to assemble in Illyricum; and setting out from Rome early in the spring of the year 272, bent his march through Thrace, and after having defeated several barbarous nations, crossed the Bosphorus, and recovered Bythynia. Thence he advanced into Capadocia, and taking possession of Tyana which was betrayed to him, marched on to Antioch. In the neighbourhood of this city, he defeated the troops of ZENOBIA, and entered, as it were in triumph the metropolis of Syria. This victory, however cost him dear. For the Palmyrenians (so the troops of ZENOBIA are stiled by historians) fought with incredible bravery; and the Romans were more indebted for the victory to art than valour. For, observing the enemy's cavalry heavily armed, they betook themselves to flight, and facing about unexpectedly, when they were quite spent with the long pursuit, put them easily in disorder, and gained a complete victory. From Antioch Aurelian pursued his march to Emesa, whither ZENOBIA had retired with her army, consisting of seventy thousand men. Under her commanded one Zabas or Zabdas, a man of great courage and experience, who had signalized himself in the Persian wars, in the time of Odenatus. After several skirmishes with various successes, both armies came to a general engagement,

ment, in which the Roman horse were put to flight at the first onset. But their infantry, attacking the enemy both in front and flanks, left naked and exposed by the departure of their cavalry who were pursuing the Romans, obliged them after a long and obstinate dispute to give ground, and shelter themselves behind the walls of Emesa; which place however they abandoned at the approach of the victorious army, and withdrew with ZENOBIA to Palmyra. Hither Aurelian pursued them close, though strangely harassed in his march by the Syrian robbers, who cut off great numbers of his men.

WHEN he came before it, he immediately invested the place, hoping to carry it by repeated assaults. But all his efforts proving unsuccessful, he began to batter it with an incredible number of warlike machines. The besieged, animated by the presence and example of their queen, not only repulsed the aggressors with showers of arrows, darts and stones, but rallied them from the walls, without sparing the emperor himself. He owned, in one of his letters, that he had never engaged a more brave and resolute enemy; and making mention of ZENOBIA, he says, "As a woman she has her fears, "but fights like one in despair of pardon. It is incredible what showers of arrows, darts and stones, "she discharges upon us; what a warlike apparatus of every kind we have to contest with. There

“ is no part of the walls but what has two or three
“ engines upon it. From some of these they shower
“ fire upon us. But I trust that the Gods, who have
“ never yet been wanting to our endeavours, will
“ still assist the Roman state.”

At length Aurelian, quite tired with the toils and fatigues of so long and sharp a siege, wrote a letter to ZENOBIA, exhorting her to surrender, on the offer of security for herself and children. To this letter ZENOBIA returned the following answer ;

“ ZENOBIA, queen of the East, to Aurelian Augustus, No man ever before you made such a demand by letter. What is to be done in war, must be performed by valour. You invite me to surrender as if you knew not that queen Cleopatra chose rather to die, than live with inferior dignity. The Persian auxiliaries we expect daily ; the Saracens are for us, and for us the Armenians. Your army, Aurelian, has been defeated by the robbers of Syria : what then will become of it, when the troops are come which we expect from every quarter ? Certainly you will then lay aside that haughtiness with which you command me to surrender, as if you were the conquerer of the universe.”

AURELIAN

AURELIAN was exasperated with this answer, and immediately ordered a general assault, it was repulsed with great loss. However a few days after, he defeated the Persians, who advanced to the relief of the place. The Saracenic and Armenian troops were corrupted by him, and partly by menaces, and partly by magnificent promises, brought over to his party. Thus the queen, dejected by her friends, and despairing of being able to hold out much longer with her own forces, resolved to withdraw privately into Persia, and there solicit more powerful succours. Accordingly, she set out in the dead of the night, with a small retinue, on dromedaries; carrying with her part of her jewels and treasures. But Aurelian, whose vigilance could not be deceived, having timely notice of her flight, detached a party of horse after her. These coming up with her, just as she was ready to cross the Euphrates in a boat, seized her, and conveyed her back to Aurelian. From that moment he began to look upon himself as the conqueror and sole lord of the East. When she was brought into his presence, he asked her, "What had prompted her to take up arms against, and insult the emperors of Rome?" To this question the queen answered, with no less intrepidity than address, That "she looked upon him indeed who knew how to conquer, as emperor; but as for Gallienus, Aureolus, and such as resembled them, she had never thought them worthy

“ of that name ; that a partnership of empire was
“ what she aimed at for herself had fortune favoured.”

THE city of Palmyra still held out. Some were against submitting on any terms whatsoever : but others sued for mercy, and upon the emperor's promise to grant them their lives, threw open their gates to the conqueror. Aurelian spared the inhabitants indeed for the present, but stripped the city of all its wealth, and appointed one Sandarion to govern the place, with five hundred archers and other troops under his command. After this, the emperor returned to Emesa, carrying with him the captive queen, whose death the soldiers demanded with loud clamours. But the emperor, cruel as he was, thought it beneath him to spill the blood of a woman, especially as she had with great care defended the Eastern provinces against the Persians and other neighbouring nations, ready to seize them during the domestic disturbances that prevailed in every part of the empire. Yet here he caused, contrary to his word, many persons of distinction to be put to death, for siding with ZENOBIA, and amongst them the celebrated philosopher Longinus, whose admirable treatise of the SUBLIME, is yet extant. Others were by his orders thrown overboard, when he crossed over from Chalcedon to Thrace.

ON his march through Thrace he defeated the Carpi, who had broken into that province. At the same time he was informed that the Palmyrenians had revolted, put the Roman governor and garrison to the sword, and proclaimed a kinsman of ZENOBIA their sovereign. Upon this intelligence he hastened back, with great expedition into Syria, and arriving at Palmyra before the inhabitants had any notice of his march, he took the city without opposition, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition.

HE had not yet quitted the East, when news came that Egypt had revolted, and set up one Firmus for emperor. He was a native of Seleucia, but possessed an immense estate in Egypt, and carried on a most profitable trade with Ethiopia and India. So that he used to boast, that with his gains only on paper and glue, he could maintain an army. Wonderful things are told of his strength and appetite. He was greatly attached to ZENOBIA, and to keep up her party and interest, assumed the title of Augustus, made himself master of Egypt, and stopped the corn, which it used to send yearly to Rome. Aurelian marched against him with that expedition which was peculiar to himself, overcame the usurper, took him prisoner, and caused him to be publickly executed.

THE provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain were at this time held by Tetricus, with the title of emperor. But Tetricus himself no longer able to bear the continual disorders and mutinies of his troops, now invited Aurelian into Gaul. However, a battle was fought near Chalons on the Marne; during which, Tetricus voluntarily surrendered himself. After this, Aurelian returned to Rome, where he was received with the most magnificent triumph, which that city had ever seen. There were four royal and stately chariots. The first, which had belonged to Odenatus, was entirely covered with silver, gold, and jewels. Another, equally rich and sumptuous, was a present to Aurelian from the king of Persia. The third was ZENOBIA's own chariot. And the fourth, which was drawn by four stags, had been taken from a Gothic prince. The emperor made his entry in the last. These chariots were preceded by twenty elephants, and great variety of wild beasts from different countries. Next came eight hundred couple of gladiators, followed by an incredible number of captives. Tetricus followed in a scarlet robe, and his son whom he had taken for his partner in the empire. After them marched ZENOBIA, whose uncommon beauty, noble stature, and majestic mien, attracted the eyes of the spectators, and seemed to eclipse the grandeur and lustre of the emperor himself. She was bound with chains of gold, which others bore up, was appareled with

with the richest tissues and robes, and so loaded with pearls and precious stones, that she was often obliged to halt ; being ready to sink under so great a burden. ZENOBIA was followed by the emperor's triumphal chariot, the senate in a body, the people of Rome, with their various standards, and the victorious legions, horse and foot, in rich and splendid armour, with crowns of laurel on their heads, and branches of palm-trees in their hands, the symbols of victory and peace.

AURELIAN, after his triumph, treated his illustrious captives with great humanity and kindness. To ZENOBIA, particularly he gave lands and possessions in the neighbourhood of Tibur, now Tivoli, sufficient to maintain her according to her rank. Here she lived in peace and serenity, like a Roman matron, with her children, whom Aurelian took under his protection, and married to persons of the first quality in Rome. Trebellius Pollio affirms that the emperor himself married one of her daughters; and Syncellus says, that he gave ZENOBIA in marriage to an illustrious senator. Be that as it will, it is certain, that her descendants lived still at Rome in great splendor, about the latter end of the fourth century. Her son Vhaballat retired into Armenia, where Aurelian gave him a principality. He is stiled on some of his coins Vhaballat of Armenia, and on others, Vhaballat king of the Verimi.

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